

# The Canadian Historical Review

NEW SERIES

OF

## THE REVIEW OF HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA

(FOUNDED 1896)

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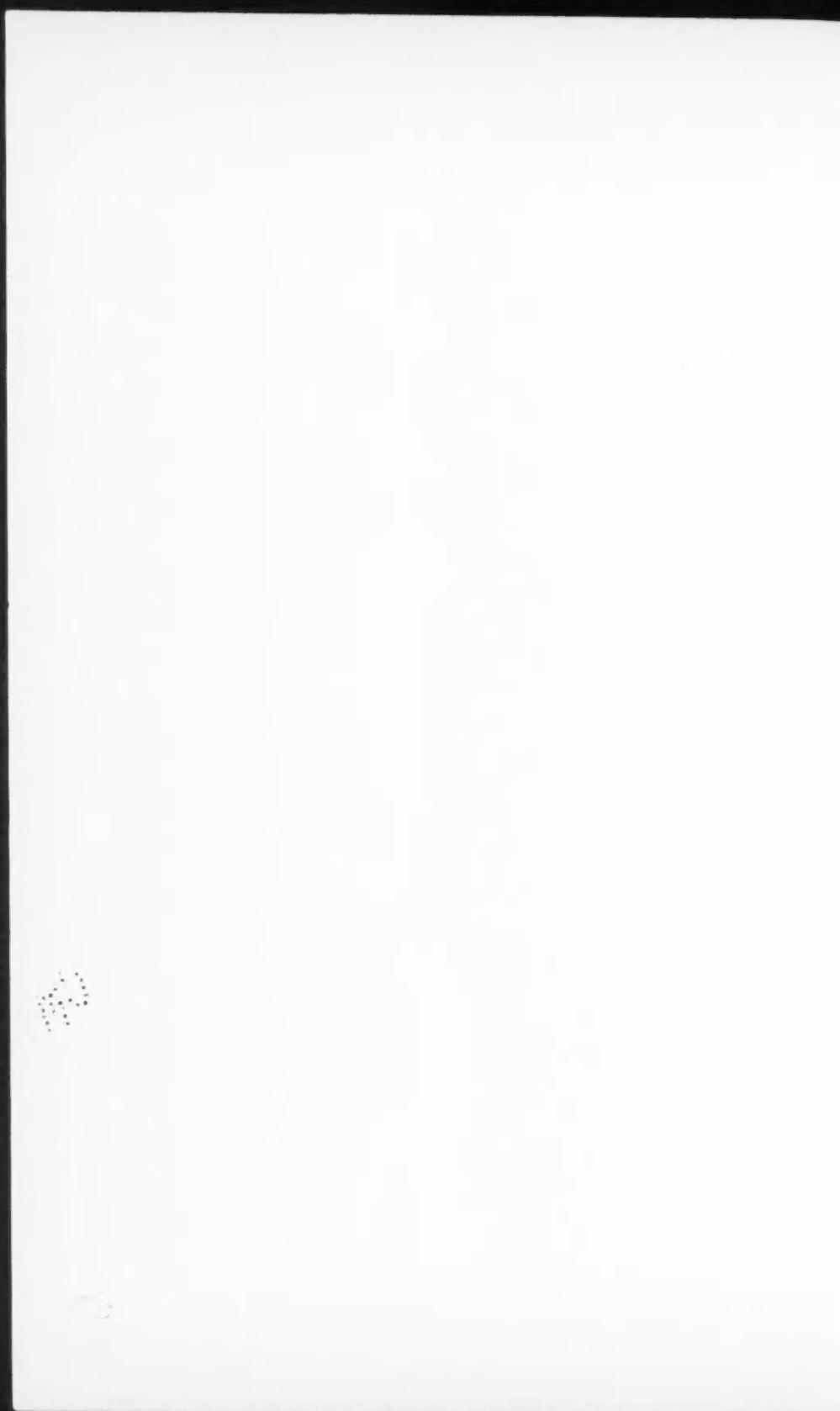


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# The Canadian Historical Review

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## ON THE IDEA OF A NATIONAL LIBRARY

THE following noteworthy paragraphs appear in the recently published history of the United States by James Truslow Adams entitled *The epic of America* (Boston, 1931):

The Library of Congress has come straight from the heart of democracy, as it has been taken to it, and I here use it as a symbol of what democracy can accomplish on its own behalf. Many have made gifts to it, but it was created by ourselves through Congress, which has steadily and increasingly shown itself generous and understanding toward it. Founded and built by the people, it is for the people. Anyone who has used the great collections of Europe, with their restrictions and red tape and difficulty of access, praises God for American democracy when he enters the stacks of the Library of Congress.

But there is more to the Library of Congress for the American dream than merely the wise appropriation of public money. There is the public itself, in two of its aspects. The Library of Congress could not have become what it is to-day, with all the generous aid of Congress, without such a citizen as Dr. Herbert Putnam at the directing head of it. He and his staff have devoted their lives to making the four million and more of books and pamphlets serve the public to a degree that cannot be approached by any similar great institution in the Old World. Then there is the public that uses these facilities. As one looks down on the general reading room, which alone contains ten thousand volumes which may be read without even the asking, one sees the seats filled with silent readers, old and young, rich and poor, black and white, the executive and the laborer, the general and the private, the noted scholar and the schoolboy, all reading at their own library provided by their own democracy. It has always seemed to me to be a perfect working out in a concrete example of the American dream—the means provided by the accumulated resources of the people themselves, a public intelligent enough to use them, and men of high distinction, themselves a part of the great democracy, devoting themselves to the good of the whole, uncloistered.

The theme of the book is "that American dream of a better, richer, and happier life for all our citizens of every rank which is

the greatest contribution we have as yet made to the thought and welfare of the world." Mr. Adams makes not a few caustic comments on the social and economic tendencies in the United States which seem to him, especially in recent decades, to endanger the realization of his "dream". But, even though given by way of contrast, his tribute to the library is no more than just as anyone even casually acquainted with its work is fully aware. In Canada, similar service to that of the Library of Congress, especially in its division of manuscripts, has been performed by the Public Archives at Ottawa which have been most ably directed by Dr. Doughty and generously supported by successive governments; but one cannot help wishing that the Dominion capital possessed the double distinction of having, in addition to the Archives, a national library worthy of that title in its fullest sense. The parliamentary library is much more than a beginning towards the realization of such a dream. Though primarily for the use of members of parliament, it is, through their indulgence, freely used by others. Its resources in printed materials both official and unofficial are already very great, and some of its treasured possessions are not to be found elsewhere. For example, among its newspaper files, which are a gold mine of information on every phase of Canada's development since the beginning of the last century, some of the most valuable could not be duplicated. The loss of materials of this kind would be nothing less than a national calamity and one shudders to think what might happen at any time to a building of the construction of the library. Even without loss by fire, irreparable injury may be caused by over-crowding and the lack of proper stack accommodation. The work of physical conservation is one problem, the continuous work of building up the materials and making them available for use is another and still greater. A great library might, indeed, through its service to individuals and to other libraries, be a source of pride and inspiration to Canadians from one end of the Dominion to the other. Is it, even in times like these, too much to hope that something might be done towards the realization of such an ideal?

## BRITISH POLICY IN CANADIAN CONFEDERATION

THE conventional approach to Canadian history through the history of New France has left many of the early traditions of British North America curiously distorted and unconvincing. The same tendencies have survived in the conventional approach to Confederation through the old province of Canada: with a similar effect upon historical perspective. Beyond a doubt the tendencies in this instance have a warrant in history as well as in tradition, since the political deadlock which was discernible to Galt and Sir Edmund Head in the old province of Canada as early as 1858 was at that time the only driving force of federalism as a solution for the problem of British American union. For the other provinces and for British policy, however, there was another approach with another alternative, and both have been almost grotesquely foreshortened by the prevailing traditions of Confederation.

Three years before the federation of the British provinces in 1867, British policy with regard to them underwent a violent and far-reaching change. Until 1864 the project for the legislative union of the Maritime Provinces as distinct from the federal union with Canada had received every encouragement from the Colonial Office. The union of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick at least seemed assured until delegates from the old province of Canada appeared at the Charlottetown conference in September, 1864, to urge a broader federal union of all the British provinces.

Within three months British policy was reversed and the whole groundwork was laid for the Canadian federation. Two of the three constituent parties to the project, however, remained hostile to the federal union with Canada. New Brunswick defeated the project overwhelmingly at the polls. In Nova Scotia the same result was avoided only by evading an election altogether. In the end, both provinces were carried into Confederation by the use of desperate and uncompromising "means" from Canada and the direct influence of the Colonial Office exercised without restraint through the lieutenant-governors of both provinces.

How is this violent reversal of policy by the Colonial Office in 1864 to be explained, and how far was it, in the last analysis, the cardinal factor in the actual achievement of Confederation? For the second of these problems conclusive evidence, it would seem,

is already available. For the first it may be possible to attempt at least a forecast. The conventional story of Confederation in this respect is singularly unconvincing. Is the key to British policy to be found in the relations with the United States during the Civil War?

## I

It will not be necessary to trace in detail from 1850 to 1862 the preliminary stages of the movement for Maritime union. The weightiest opinion, it would seem, in the esteem of the Colonial Office, was that of Sir Edmund Head.

It is true that Head, then lieutenant-governor of New Brunswick, had drafted a secret memorandum for a federal union of all the British provinces in 1851—the first practical project of federation based squarely upon the dynamics of responsible government. His forecast was "a powerful and independent State" under the British crown, with a uniform currency, "a mint of their own", a distinctive flag and "a national destiny".<sup>1</sup> It is true also that Head was the first to launch the project of federal union into practical politics as governor-general of Canada in 1858, thus sharing with Galt, as I have tried to suggest elsewhere, the credit of gauging for the first time the forces that were to prove so powerful in 1864.<sup>2</sup> But both during the interval between 1851 and 1858, and afterwards, Head reverted to the more feasible project of Maritime union. In 1856 he wrote to Labouchere:

I do not now believe in the practicability of the federal or legislative Union of Canada with the three "Lower Colonies"—I once thought differently but further knowledge and experience have changed my views—I believe however that it would be possible, with great advantage to all parties concerned to unite under one Government Nova Scotia, Prince Edward's Island, and New Brunswick.<sup>3</sup>

With this project for Maritime union was combined another for the annexation of the Red and Saskatchewan River valleys to Canada and for the union of Vancouver Island and New Caledonia west of the Rocky Mountains.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Chester Martin, "Sir Edmund Head's first project of federation, 1851" (Canadian Historical Association, *Report*, 1928, 14-26).

<sup>2</sup>Chester Martin, "Sir Edmund Head and Canadian Confederation, 1851-1858" (Canadian Historical Association, *Report*, 1929, 5-14).

<sup>3</sup>Public Archives of Canada, *Series G*, vol. 206, "Private and confidential", September 3, 1856.

<sup>4</sup>*Confidential drafts*, 1856-1866, March 2, 1856.

There were thus to be three great preliminary regional unions across the continent. Again in 1859, after the crisis of 1858 had passed in Canada, Head reverted to the project of Maritime union.<sup>1</sup> A confidential memorandum which he had drafted 'when in England in 1857' for Labouchere was now sent to the Colonial Office at Newcastle's own request. This copy is now nowhere to be found, but one of Merivale's confidential minutes at the Colonial Office is no doubt a correct interpretation:

It was Sir E. Head's opinion (founded on his knowledge both of N. Brunswick & Canada) that the best prospect for the so called Lower Provinces was an Union between them (legislative, as I think, and not federative) to the *exclusion* of Canada with which a subsequent *federal* union might or might not be formed.<sup>2</sup>

By far the most exhaustive analysis, however, had come from the Earl of Mulgrave, lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia. In a confidential despatch of December 30, 1858, which Herman Merivale, Lord Carnarvon, then under-secretary, and Lytton himself alike commended ("perhaps the cleverest despatch we have had on the subject") Mulgrave estimated "the advantages to be derived by the Lower Provinces" by a federal union with Canada as "very problematical". A few months later he could see "no reason to change" his views on federal union with Canada; but avowing a "very different feeling" with regard to the legislative union of the Maritime Provinces, he drafted a case for Maritime union which remained a classic until it was discarded by the reversal of British policy in 1864.<sup>3</sup> One reflection of Mulgrave's has now, in retrospect, a curious poignancy: in case of federation

<sup>1</sup>Public Archives of Canada, *Series G*, vol. 180B, no. 45, Head to Newcastle, "Confidential", December 1, 1859.

<sup>2</sup>Public Archives of Canada, *C.O. 188*, vol. 132, Minute on Manners Sutton's despatch to Newcastle, "Private and confidential", September 29, 1859. For the loss of Head's memorandum see the minutes on Head's despatch of February 9, 1860, Public Record Office, London, *C.O. 42*, vol. 622.

<sup>3</sup>Public Archives of Canada, *C.O. 217*, vol. 226, Mulgrave to Newcastle, "Confidential", March 1, 1860. The chief arguments may be summarized as follows: the numbers in the legislatures were so small that "the weight of each individual vote, obtains an undue influence" (p. 37); there were not in each party "a sufficient number of men of talent and position" to form a strong and homogeneous government, while "party spirit and animosity ran to a height utterly unknown in England"; the chief justice of Nova Scotia, Sir Brenton Halliburton, was eighty-six years of age and "it is a fact beyond dispute" that the feud between the parties led by Mr. Young and Mr. Johnston was due chiefly to "the anxiety of these two gentlemen to succeed to the Chief-Justiceship", and the "fear that this prize might be gained or lost by a few weeks delay" in retaining or regaining office; corrupt practices were in the ascendant and men were frequently "forced on by pecuniary necessity"; union would provide better rewards for legitimate ambition, a broader field and a higher level for public life, marked economies in administration, a "stimulus to industry and trade" and a prospect of public enterprise quite beyond the resources of the divided provinces.

with Canada,<sup>1</sup> he maintained, it was essential for the Maritime Provinces to come in "on something like equal terms" and after being "thoroughly amalgamated" by a previous union among themselves. Upon the margin of Mulgrave's despatch is a memorandum by Fortescue of the Colonial Office: "This agrees with Sir E. Head's opinion." The papers on the union of the British provinces were printed by the Foreign Office for confidential use in London. The cause of Maritime union was clearly in the ascendant.

## II

The developments of the next four years are traceable from a variety of sources. In 1861 (September 27) Lieutenant-Governor Manners Sutton of New Brunswick, in compliance with "a strong and growing opinion here in favor of the Union, Legislative, of the three Lower Provinces", reported a project for free inter-provincial trade in colonial produce and manufactures.<sup>2</sup> Newcastle, who had just had a round with a "host of pedantic objections" raised by the Board of Trade (the phrase is that of the Colonial Office itself), cut the Gordian knot by conceding the right to "free Commercial intercourse between the different Provinces" and thus confronting the Board of Trade with a *fait accompli*.<sup>3</sup> Even Galt discovered that he had a secret ally in Newcastle against the Board of Trade in the famous tariff controversy of 1859.<sup>4</sup>

British policy was further crystallized by Newcastle's visit to the British provinces with the Prince of Wales in 1860 and by Howe's resolutions of 1861 in Nova Scotia for "mutual consultation" with regard to union. Mulgrave's correspondence again provides the clue to British policy. Elliott of the Colonial Office has a confidential minute upon the despatch of May 21, 1862:

It appears to me that there are strong reasons for encouraging a Union, both Commercial and Legislative, of all the Lower Provinces, but that whether it would be advisable to promote,—or to foster the discussion of,—their Incorporation into Canada is far more doubtful.<sup>5</sup>

"I cannot help feeling", he added, "especially if things are left in their present state, that the question of a Union with Canada will be pressed, and perhaps ultimately carried."

<sup>1</sup>C.O. 188, vol. 134.

<sup>2</sup>Id., vol. 41, November 5, 1861.

<sup>3</sup>Public Archives of Canada, *Macdonald papers*, Galt to Macdonald, December 14, 1859.

<sup>4</sup>C.O. 217, vol. 230.

A minute by Newcastle himself would seem to be conclusive:

I have always been of opinion that the necessary preliminary to a Legislative Union of the Lower Provinces is an Intercolonial Railway, and that the completion of *both* these schemes must precede a Union with Canada. The latter event may be hastened by the present condition of the neighbouring Country,<sup>1</sup> but I do not expect success to any project which attempts it without first *settling* (if not *accomplishing*) both the smaller Union and the Railway . . . I am well inclined to enter heartily into any well-considered plan which has the concurrence of all Parties concerned.<sup>2</sup>

← No  
date

It is significant that the interprovincial conference which met at Quebec in September, 1862, waived, for the time, the discussion of union and addressed itself to the building of the intercolonial railway. Newcastle himself renewed with alacrity the imperial guarantee which had gone by the board during the embroilment between Grey and Howe in 1852; while a virtual contract between Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick divided the prospective cost of the railway in the ratio of 10, 7, and 7. The necessary legislation was passed by both Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, but when one of the kaleidoscopic administrations in Canada during this period abrogated the contract altogether, there was a bitter exchange in which charges of selfishness and bad faith were freely made.<sup>3</sup> This too—the “Canadian fiasco” as it was called—confirmed the drift towards Maritime union, and a definite project was soon under way with every prospect of success.

After the retirement of Mulgrave from Nova Scotia Sir Arthur Gordon, lieutenant-governor of New Brunswick, became the chief exponent of Maritime union, with the full imprimatur of the Colonial Office. “I shall be glad”, Newcastle wrote confidentially on July 31, 1863, “to learn that you have taken all prudent means, without committing the home Government beforehand, to bring about a proposal from the Lower Provinces for a Legislative Union.”<sup>4</sup> By August, Gordon reported “every reason to hope that . . . the Legislatures of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island will concur during the next Session in an Address . . . for the immediate union of the Lower Provinces”.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup>A shrewd commentary, as we shall see.

<sup>2</sup>In the reply to Musgrave was outlined for the first time the official procedure by which union was to be, and was in fact eventually, effected—by resolution or address from the several provinces and by consultation with the Colonial Office.

<sup>3</sup>Public Archives of Canada, C.O. 189, 8, vol. 1, p. 358, Gordon to Monck, October 7, 1863.

<sup>4</sup>C.O. 188, vol. 43.

<sup>5</sup>C.O. 189, 8, vol. 1, p. 342, “Most confidential”, August 29, 1863.

In September, Tupper of Nova Scotia foreshadowed a "resolution in its favour . . . by the Legislature of Nova Scotia without a single dissentient vote",<sup>1</sup> and again Newcastle in reply expressed his "satisfaction at the concurrence of sentiment".<sup>2</sup> By December the project had been "favourably received" by the executive council of New Brunswick, and "no punctilio" was to interfere with "the end in view".<sup>3</sup> Concurrent resolutions were drafted for the three legislatures. When Gordon returned to England on leave of absence in April, 1864, there were gathering difficulties in Prince Edward Island<sup>4</sup> but excellent prospects for the union of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. Gordon returned in August in time to appoint the delegates to the Charlottetown conference, September 1, and to attend for several days in person. He afterwards reported that "the Delegates from Nova Scotia [representing both parties] were unanimous in favour of the immediate Legislative and administrative union of the Lower Provinces". Those from New Brunswick, though divided in opinion, expressed no dissent from the avowed policy of Tilley and the majority. Prince Edward Island was to prove hostile to both forms of union pending a settlement of the land question, but the union of the other two seemed "certain of adoption".<sup>5</sup> "But for the proposals from Canada", added Gordon, "I have no hesitation in saying that the union of the Maritime Provinces would have been effected, for the Delegates both of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were fully agreed on the determination not to permit the reluctance of Prince Edward Island to affect their determination".<sup>6</sup>

It may not unfairly be assumed that the relations with the United States during the Civil War—no small factor, as we shall see, in the federal union with Canada—would have subserved with equal effect the original project of Maritime union had the Colonial Office continued on that side of the balance the decisive influence which they now cast into the other. Such were the prospects of success for Mulgrave's scheme of Maritime union as a prelude to federal union with Canada "on something like equal terms".

<sup>1</sup>*Id.*, p. 354, Gordon to Newcastle, "Most confidential", September 25, 1863.

<sup>2</sup>*C.O. 188*, vol. 43, "Confidential", October 23, 1863.

<sup>3</sup>*C.O. 189*, 8, vol. 1, p. 413, Gordon to Newcastle, December 7, 1863.

<sup>4</sup>Chiefly over the "land question" which was not solved until Prince Edward Island entered Confederation in 1873.

<sup>5</sup>*C.O. 189*, 9, vol. 2, p. 1, Gordon to Cardwell, September 12, 1864.

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*: "The ultimate concurrence of that Island was a matter of certainty and in the meantime a temporary delay on its part would have inflicted no real inconvenience on the two chief Maritime Provinces in the event of their Union."

## III

The reversal of British policy has been obscured in Canadian history by the familiar theme of the Canadian coalition of June, 1864, and the "Ride of the Valkyries" to Charlottetown. The preoccupation of the Canadian statesmen with their own desperate *impasse* in Canada was well known to the Maritime Provinces. Brown had entered the coalition upon the specific pledge that if a general federation were to prove impracticable the existing Canadian union was to be broken up and replaced by a dual federation. The sardonic comment of the executive council in New Brunswick that the chief concern in Canada for union was to break up the only effectual union which already existed, that of the two Canadas, may not have remained true but it was very nearly true at the beginning. In the despatch in which Monck announced the coalition of June, 1864, the federation of the British provinces is never once mentioned. "The only question", he wrote, "about which there has been for a long time any serious difference of opinion in the Province is . . . the equal division of representation between Upper and Lower Canada . . . I trust a compromise satisfactory to both sides may be devised."<sup>1</sup> When the Canadian delegates asked permission to attend the Charlottetown conference they were informed that "as the Delegates were appointed solely for the purpose of considering the proposed Legislative union of the Lower Provinces, it would not be competent for them officially to discuss the larger and more novel proposal now made by Canada";<sup>2</sup> and, when the Colonial Office heard by way of Nova Scotia of the proposed Canadian delegation, Cardwell addressed to Monck, the governor-general, a curt request for an explanation. Monck's reply is a laboured apology for the intrusion into what he conceded to be "the primary object of the conference".<sup>3</sup> As late as August, 1864, Cardwell himself wrote that "the official Mission of the Delegates should be limited to the Union of the Lower Provinces", and that he was "not yet prepared to enter" upon the wider question of a federal union with Canada.<sup>4</sup> It seems clear that the reversal of British policy was not due to the change of personnel at the Colonial Office.

This was in August, 1864. The Charlottetown conference

<sup>1</sup>*Series G*, vol. 465, p. 125, Monck to Cardwell, June 30, 1864.

<sup>2</sup>*C.O. 189*, 9, vol. 2, p. 1, Gordon to Cardwell, September 12, 1864.

<sup>3</sup>*C.O. 189*, 9, vol. 2, p. 1; *Series G*, vol. 172, August 13, 1864; *id.*, vol. 465, p. 145.

<sup>4</sup>Public Record Office, London, *C.O. 217*, vol. 234, Cardwell to MacDonnell, August 9, 1864.

assembled on September 1, and the Quebec conference adjourned at Montreal on October 29. A little more than two months, therefore, saw the complete reversal of the policy of Maritime union and the completion of the Quebec resolutions for ratification by the respective legislatures. The reversal of British policy is equally forthright and decisive. Monck's first despatch with details of the Quebec resolutions is dated November 7. On December 3 the full imprimatur of the Colonial Office was given to the cause of federal union. Prince Edward Island resolutely refused to enter Confederation until 1873 and Newfoundland still remains outside the Dominion. In New Brunswick, however, Sir Arthur Gordon, whose voluminous despatches up to January 2, 1865, were a frantic attempt to salvage his original project of Maritime union, was forced to reverse the engines and to carry the Canadian scheme through the legislature and at the hustings by means that are not pleasant to reflect upon. The official instructions and above all the private letters from Cardwell were in truth mandatory: "I shall act", Gordon replied, "in conformity with . . . commands therein signified to me."<sup>1</sup> Under instructions from the Colonial Office to complete the ratification of the Quebec resolutions if possible in time for an act of the British parliament during the session of 1865, Gordon and Tilley decided upon an immediate dissolution. There was "no doubt [thought Gordon] of the triumph of the Government", since with the exception of three constituencies where "the question of Confederation will in some degree affect the result", the elections would probably be determined by "local interests and local partialities".<sup>2</sup> Whatever reason there may be in this to credit Gordon's good faith, his judgement was less defensible. In the elections of March, 1865, the cause of Confederation was overwhelmingly defeated. Tilley, Gray, and Fisher themselves were among the vanquished in the three most influential constituencies in the province. Nova Scotia, by Tupper's own admission, avoided the same fate only by evading an election altogether.

#### IV

Some of the desperate methods used to reverse this verdict are now but too clearly traceable and must be set down without extenuation.<sup>3</sup> There is evidence of an understanding at Quebec

<sup>1</sup>*Macdonald papers*, VI, 83, Tilley to Galt, n.d.; *C.O. 189*, 9, vol. 2, p. 71.

<sup>2</sup>*Id.*, p. 107.

<sup>3</sup>The first attempt in print to examine this evidence is Professor George E. Wilson's stimulating article on "New Brunswick's entrance into Confederation" (*CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, March, 1928, 4).

that Canadian resources would be forthcoming for the contest in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. The by-election in York County in October, 1865, which was interpreted as the turning of the tide, is the subject of some interesting correspondence in the *Macdonald papers*. "I am quite certain", wrote Tilley, "Fisher can be returned under any circumstances with an expenditure of 8 or ten thousand Dollars. . . Is there any chance of the friends in Canada providing half the expenditure?" Upon the back of this letter is a memorandum in Macdonald's handwriting: "My dear Galt Read this. What about the monies?"<sup>1</sup> "Do not allow us to want now", added Fisher, "[or] we are all gone together."<sup>2</sup> The governor-general himself, then in Britain, regarded the York by-election as "the most important thing that has happened since the Quebec Conference, and if followed up judiciously affords a good omen of success in our spring campaign."

Less than a month after the defeat of Tilley and Confederation in New Brunswick the strongest delegation which had ever left Canada—Macdonald, Galt, Brown, and Cartier—was on its way to Downing Street, charged among other things with the necessity of reversing the fatal verdict. "The British Government", wrote Macdonald,<sup>3</sup> "will carry their point if they only adopt vigorous measures to that end, and we shall spare no pains to impress the necessity of such a course upon them." As it happened, the incitation of Macdonald and his colleagues was unnecessary. The "vigorous measures" of the British government are attested alike by Galt's own memoranda in the *Macdonald papers* and by the emphatic despatches which bore down all before them, as we shall see, in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. The first of these was already on its way a fortnight before the Canadian delegates reached Downing Street. By Gordon's own admission he was in constant collusion with Tilley against his own constitutional advisers, and the act by which he finally precipitated another election in 1866 was an outrage against the principles of responsible government. "This transaction", he confessed ruefully at that time, "has throughout caused me the deepest mortification. It is mortifying to know that efforts to effect in a tranquil manner . . . a great object desired by the Imperial Govt. have proved wholly abortive."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Macdonald papers*, VI, 133, September 13, 1865.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.*, 162.

<sup>3</sup> *Id.*, to Gray of P.E.I., March 24, 1865, "Private".

<sup>4</sup> *C.O. 189*, 9, vol. 2, p. 292, "Confidential", April 23, 1866.

Meanwhile there can be no doubt that "the needful", as Tilley called it, was forthcoming from Canada. He wrote to Macdonald:

We must have the arrangement carried out and without delay that was talked of when I met you at Quebec . . . telegraph me in cypher saying what we can rely upon. . . The elections must be carried at all Hazards. . .

We can send a respectable man . . . to Portland where he might [meet] Brydges or some other person to arrange Finances. It will require some \$40,000 or \$50,000 to do the work.<sup>1</sup>

A few days later he added:

To be frank with you the election in this Province can be made certain if the *means* are used. . . If you give us aid as indeed you must to ensure success, you can arrange details as you think best.

The governor-general added his own appeal and Gordon's for prompt measures. He telegraphed to Macdonald:

I have seen Galt and I think it very desirable that he should undertake the journey to Portland.

The counterpart to this is a note from Galt himself in the *Macdonald papers*:

I saw Lord Monck today (Sunday). . . He agrees . . . that *means* had better be used—I think we *must* put it through coûte que coûte—and that I had better discuss it in this sense with Tilley—I should like to take Brydges to Portland with me.

The elections of June, 1866, which reversed the verdict of the previous year, are still a tradition in New Brunswick. It is but fair to add that no small amount of "the needful" was in evidence against Confederation, and that the source of much of it still remains a mystery.

In Nova Scotia Tupper's course was the direct result of the hostile verdict in New Brunswick. Even in the legislature, he found, "all . . . ingenuity would be required to avert the passage of a hostile resolution".<sup>2</sup> "There can be no doubt", Tupper afterwards conceded in reviewing his policy in Nova Scotia, "that an appeal to the people here . . . would have resulted as it has in that Province in placing the opponents of Confederation in power and affording them the means of obstructing that great measure." In desperation he fell back upon a resolution for Maritime union

<sup>1</sup>April 17, 1866.

<sup>2</sup>*Macdonald papers*, VI, Tupper to Macdonald, April 9, 1865.

as a preliminary step to Confederation, but the Colonial Office was now no longer prepared to countenance "any proposals which would tend to delay the Confederation of all the Provinces". Maritime union was no longer acceptable unless it "formed part of the scheme for general union".<sup>1</sup> At the same time Tupper, sensitive, as usual, to the temper of his countrymen, deprecated any appearance of "coercive measures on the part of the Imperial authorities", as likely to be "prejudicial to the cause".<sup>2</sup> In the end Nova Scotia was voted into Confederation by a legislature elected months before on vastly different issues, and the first federal election sent eighteen out of nineteen members to Ottawa pledged to abrogate the union. The provincial elections, held at the same time, returned but two out of forty members in favour of Confederation, and one of these was almost immediately unseated and replaced by an anti-federalist.

## V

The worst, I think, in this desperate programme has been set down without extenuation, but it would be a monstrous perversion of the truth, I am sure, to attribute the success of Confederation primarily to these "means". None could read the debates and correspondence of that period without the conviction that the national destiny of the British provinces had grown in public estimation from the size of a man's hand until it filled the whole sky. Those who saw what had to be done did it without squeamishness and without apology. "Small thanks", exclaimed Carlyle, "to the man who will keep his hands clean but with gloves on." Many other factors are obvious. The desperate *impasse* in Canada in itself was enough to force the Colonial Office to acquiescence though not perhaps to the inflexible policy of 1866. The ardour of the Canadian federalists can scarcely be overestimated. No other such exploit of high-pressure, political salesmanship is to be found in the history of Canada as the advocacy of the Canadian delegates at the Charlottetown and Quebec conferences. The pervasive influence of Watkin and Brydges of the Grand Trunk and of other British financial interests in Canada and at Downing Street is a whole chapter in itself. But it will be conceded that all these, with Tilley's "fair share of the needful"

<sup>1</sup>Series G, vol. 174, Cardwell to Monck, July 29, 1865, enclosures.

<sup>2</sup>Though he was quite prepared to welcome the coercion of Howe: "I wish Lord Monck would write to Earl Russell to choke him off." Howe was then commissioner of fisheries under the Foreign Office.

thrown in, would have been powerless to carry New Brunswick and Nova Scotia into Confederation had the Colonial Office been hostile or neutral and allowed Gordon, an avowed enemy of federation, a free hand to support his constitutional advisers after the election of 1865. Here, it would seem, is the central problem of Confederation. How is one to account for the violent reversal of British policy during those critical weeks of November, 1864?

My thesis is that the relations with the United States loom larger and larger with every chapter of research into these eventful months. There has been no attempt to trace these relations here; and, indeed, they form no pleasant theme for this generation. The *Trent* affair, the exploits of the *Alabama*, the *Chesapeake* affair, the St. Albans raid, Seward's passport system, the projected abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty and of the Rush-Bagot convention, the strained diplomatic relations intensified by the impending triumph of the North, and finally the Fenian raids upon the New Brunswick and Canadian borders, all suffused the issue with new and portentous possibilities. Macdonald surmises that had it not been for the problem of the defence of Canada, Great Britain, like France, would have recognized the Southern Confederacy. The deluge of despatches, commissions and reports on the problem of defence dwarfs almost every other issue in the *G series*. Military missions to the Maritime Provinces and to Canada magnified the menace without removing it. Men like Brown and Galt and Lord Lyons and Earl Russell himself never doubted the solid goodwill and magnanimity of Abraham Lincoln, but once the Canadian coalition had committed itself to Confederation the drum-beat of American relations was never allowed to pass into silence. The speeches of Whelan and McGee ring the changes upon this theme. The Fenian raids synchronize with the most critical stages of the movement. During the decisive election of June, 1866, in New Brunswick Gordon, who conceded that the reports were "very much got up for election purposes", replaced the militia at the border by regulars in order that the "Volunteer Battalion should be at St. John during election. Nearly all are voters and a majority favourable."<sup>1</sup> In Canada the departure of the Canadian delegates and of the governor-general himself for the final conference in London was delayed by local panics with regard to the Fenians.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Public Archives of Canada, *Series C*, vol. 1672, Gordon to Doyle, in cypher, May 25, 1866.

<sup>2</sup> See C. P. Stacey, "Fenianism and the rise of national feeling in Canada at the time of Confederation" (CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, September, 1931, 238).

## VI •

It is well to remember that subtler motives and broader issues were involved than the defence of the international boundary. How far was it possible to carry through the policy of "calling home the legions", of devolving upon a British American federation the responsibility not only for defence but for internal development and for expansion westward to the Pacific?

Throughout the discussion of federation, however, the problem of defence in a more concrete and practical form is traceable like a red thread in British policy. From the defeat of the Militia Bill in 1862 to the summer of 1864 the issue is marked by mutual concern and, it may be added, by mutual misunderstanding. The relations with Great Britain during those critical years—the scathing comments of the British press and the reper-  
cussion of bitterness and resentment in Canada—can scarcely now be reconstructed even in imagination. A month before the Charlottetown conference a confidential report by Colonel Jervois reached Canada with the stringent comment from the Colonial Office that "her defence must ever principally depend upon the spirit, the energy and courage of her own People".<sup>1</sup> Unknown as yet to Cardwell, the Canadian coalition had put its hand to the plough, and the official Canadian attitude towards defence changed almost over night. The British attitude towards Canada changed with it. A week after Monck's first despatch on the Quebec resolutions he reviewed the altered prospects for defence. "Should the Union take place", he wrote to Cardwell, "those who are likely to compose its Executive will be animated by the strongest desire to meet the views of Her Majesty's Ministers." As proof of good faith the Canadian government was already prepared to spend a million dollars on militia and to fortify Montreal. "This is the first instance", he added, "in which a colony has offered at its own expense to erect permanent defensive works."<sup>2</sup>

There can be no doubt that Monck's despatches and particularly his private letters had a profound influence at the Colonial Office. From August, 1864, when Cardwell first discovered the existence of the Canadian project, to December 3, when he gave it his official support, this correspondence was the chief, if not the only, official avenue of approach to British policy. Late in Nov-

<sup>1</sup> *Series G*, vol. 172, p. 205, Cardwell to Monck, "Confidential", August 6, 1864.  
<sup>2</sup> *Id.*, 180B, no. 61.

ember the despatches were printed confidentially for use in London. With Monck was now associated also the apostolic ardour of George Brown. It is clear from the correspondence of both men that no direct personal influence had outweighed the governor-general's in bringing Brown into the coalition of 1864. No name in Canada was now more admirably calculated to repair the unfortunate impression left in Great Britain by the Sandfield Macdonald-Sicotte policy of defence. Brown's lone mission to London late in November, 1864, was a tactical move of the first importance. Brown himself afterwards reported that the scheme gave "prodigious satisfaction". "The Ministry, the Conservatives and the Manchester men are all delighted with it and everything Canadian has gone up in public estimation immensely." Both Lord Monck and George Brown, it is safe to say, have yet to be accorded the place to which they are entitled in the creation of the new Dominion.

Among the motives of the Colonial Office in approving the result of the Quebec conference, Cardwell himself gives first place to the fact that "it was eminently calculated to render easier and more effectual the provisions for the defence of the several Provinces".<sup>1</sup> The resourcefulness of the Canadian delegates to London after the adverse election of March, 1865, in New Brunswick thus met with an immediate response. Defence was now perhaps the burden of their mission. The arguments plied at the Colonial Office are to be found in Galt's memoranda in the *Macdonald papers*. "Believing that the Defence of the Country was most intimately connected with the Union", Cartier suggested that "the Imperial Government who were charged with the responsibility . . . might properly exercise a very great influence thro' a decided expression of their views". In reply Cardwell pledged the British government anew "to use every proper means of influence to carry into effect without delay the proposed Confederation".<sup>2</sup> In truth British policy, as I have already suggested, required no such stimulus. In a despatch to Gordon a fortnight before the arrival of the Canadian delegates, we have Cardwell's first impressions of the New Brunswick elections. For the benefit of Gordon's "new Advisers" he pointed out "the intimate connection . . . between the numbers of the population and the measures proper to be taken for the defence of the Province". "It will only

<sup>1</sup>C.O. 188, vol. 45, Cardwell to Gordon, April 12, 1865.

<sup>2</sup>Series G, vol. 174, p. 54, Official memorandum of conference in Cardwell to Monck, June 17, 1865.

be right", he added, "for New Brunswick to bear in mind" that as a separate province it could "make no adequate provision for its own defence" and would therefore "rest in a very great degree upon the defence which may be provided for it by this Country. It will, consequently, be likely to appear to your Advisers reasonable and wise that, in examining the question of the proposed Union, they should attach great weight to the views and wishes of this Country, . . . and to the reasons on which those views have been based."<sup>1</sup>

A few days after the departure of the Canadian delegates Cardwell repeated in its final form the "strong and deliberate opinion" of the British government. He wrote to Gordon:

There is one consideration which Her Majesty's Government feel it more especially their duty to press upon the Legislature of New Brunswick. Looking to the determination which this Country has ever exhibited to regard the defence of the Colonies as a matter of Imperial concern,—the Colonies must recognize a right and even acknowledge an obligation incumbent on the Home Government to urge with earnestness and just authority the measures which they consider to be most expedient on the part of the Colonies with a view to their own defence.<sup>2</sup>

The reply of the New Brunswick cabinet to this exhortation was perhaps the most spirited and incisive rejoinder of the entire controversy.<sup>3</sup> But the patient insistence of the Colonial Office was not to be denied. The reception which awaited Smith, the new prime minister of New Brunswick, and J. C. Allen, the attorney-general, in their anti-confederate mission to the Colonial Office a few weeks later can easily be surmised, and it is fair to conclude from Gordon's confidential despatches that both were fairly committed to the cause of union. Upon Gordon himself and Lieutenant-Governor MacDonnell of Nova Scotia the pressure was less complaisant. The Canadian delegates in April, 1865 (charged, we now know, by Tilley and Tupper), had suggested bluntly to Cardwell that "the action of the Lieut.-Governors both of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick had been calculated to defeat the measure". Both Gordon and MacDonnell found themselves on leave of absence in London in the autumn of 1865. It would seem to be unnecessary to trace the influence of the Colonial Office through to the final conference in London. Galt's forecast in

<sup>1</sup>C.O. 188, vol. 45, Cardwell to Gordon, April 12, 1865.

<sup>2</sup>*Id.*, June 24, 1865.

<sup>3</sup>Not even excepting the philippics of Howe in Nova Scotia. Public Archives of Canada, C.O. 189, 9, vol. 2, p. 183, Minute of executive council enclosed in Gordon to Cardwell, July 15, 1865.

1865 was warranted by the facts. "A decided expression" of British policy would have "a most marked effect on the loyal and high-spirited people of the Maritime Provinces" in favour of "a plan which will assure to them the continuance of the British connection".

## VII

The elements of fortune in the Canadian Confederation were so numerous that it would be impossible here to appraise them in detail; but two or three major factors may be distinguished (in the words of Galt and Cartier in 1865) as "an extraordinary and happy combination of circumstances".

From the *Confederation debates* it would appear that Macdonald regarded the Charlottetown conference as the turn of fortune. "If it had not been for this fortunate coincidence of events, never, perhaps, for a long series of years would we have been able to bring this scheme to a practical conclusion."

To others, more familiar with the cause of Maritime union, a more dynamic element of chance was the local deadlock in Canada which the coalition of 1864 was pledged by solemn resolution to dissolve: "for the final settlement of sectional difficulties", they agreed, "the remedy must be sought in the federal principle." The view that federation was thus the by-product of "local exigencies" in Canada was explored unsparingly by the opponents of the measure in New Brunswick. Here, they said, was "the motive and groundwork of the scheme". "Federal Union was only sought as a means of separating the Canadas", and "the eagerness with which they seek to force its immediate adoption upon unwilling communities" was due to the fact that the alternative could not be represented "even speciously . . . to the Imperial Government as in any manner a scheme of Union".<sup>1</sup> Without subscribing to these sardonic comments, it may be assumed, I think, that the deadlock in Canada was the mainspring of the federal movement. Without it the clock would almost certainly have run down. Without it, assuredly, the clock, for that decade at least, would never have been wound up.

But next to the *impasse* in Canada, the American Civil War, I am inclined to think, was the greatest fortuitous agency for the federation of the British provinces. There were other factors innumerable. The rescue of the West from annexation to the United States was never far removed from Brown's resolute mind.

<sup>1</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 185, Minute of executive council, July 12, 1865.

Beyond a doubt the sudden alacrity of the Canadian coalition for an intercolonial railway had a far-reaching effect upon Maritime opinion; while Watkin, Brydges, and "big business" had their share of influence, both there and in London. The decisive factors, however, belong to another order. The abandonment of Maritime union, the inordinate haste towards a general federation, the domination of Gordon and MacDonnell by the Colonial Office, the concerted plan for the use of "every proper means", as pledged by Cardwell, "to carry into effect without delay the proposed Confederation", the ominous omission of the adjective by Galt and Monck himself when the time came to use "means" in New Brunswick, all reflect a more sudden and urgent motive. Relations with the United States supplied the temperature and the pressure which enabled the experts who presided over the process to bring the most sluggish reagents at last into reaction.

Once that reaction had taken place, the removal of pressure and temperature left a stable political compound, perhaps the strongest government, from the federal point of view, in the modern world. The federal powers in the Canadian constitution, by comparison with the provincial or state powers, are stronger than in the United States, or Brazil, or Australia—a virtue which was due in no small measure to the discerning policy of Canadian statesmen at a time when the issues of state sovereignty were being decided by two millions of men in arms across the border. The bearing of this phase of United States precedent upon the Canadian federation, however, is a theme in itself. One is justified, at any rate, in regarding the American Civil War as one of the profoundest influences in Canadian history, and there may be an element of ironic truth in the reflection that even the Fenian brotherhood is entitled to unsuspected credit in the federation of British North America.

CHESTER MARTIN

## THE MERCHANTS OF NOVA SCOTIA AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

FROM 1749 to 1776, Nova Scotia stood in no exceptional position to the English provinces of the Atlantic coast. She was in fact only the most easterly of fourteen colonies, with easy communication by sea to New England and New York. The majority of her population, unlike that of Quebec, differed in no essential way from the population of the other colonies, being composed of New Englanders who had made their way to the peninsula after the expulsion of the Acadians. The population of the province in 1775 has been estimated at under 20,000, of whom three quarters came from Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island.<sup>1</sup> Of the remainder, part were Acadians who had taken the oath and thus escaped deportation but who could not be expected to show strong loyalty to the governing power; part were Germans settled around Lunenburg, with no marked natural attachment to Great Britain; and part were North Irish, some of whom in the Cumberland area actively assisted the Americans. Only the English and Scots, a small minority, had strong motives for supporting the cause of their native country. On an *a priori* view, one would say that the great majority of the population would be ranged against Great Britain. Nor were economic motives wanting to provoke discontent. Nova Scotia suffered from precisely the same restrictions on trade and navigation as did the thirteen colonies to the south. In 1768, Lieutenant-Governor Francklin wrote to Lord Hillsborough: ". . . this government has at all times been extremely careful not to give encouragement to any kind of manufactures which might interfere with those of Great Britain."<sup>2</sup> The situation of Nova Scotia seems to have differed in no essential way from that of any New England colony of the mid-eighteenth century.

Yet the fact remains that Nova Scotia did not join in the revolt of the thirteen. The question why this was the case has been raised in several studies. Miss Weaver, in the *American historical review*,<sup>3</sup> is non-committal. Mr. Eaton declares posi-

<sup>1</sup>A. W. H. Eaton, *Chapters in the history of Halifax* (Printed in *Americana*, 1913-1919), 188.

<sup>2</sup>Public Archives of Canada, *Series A*, vol. 83, p. 12.

<sup>3</sup>E. P. Weaver, "Nova Scotia and New England during the Revolution" (*American historical review*, X, 1904, 52-71).

tively that there was no reluctance on the part of the people "to throw in their lot with their friends of the New England colonies" and ascribes their failure in so doing to their rural situation, paucity in numbers, dispersion in settlement, and lack of arms.<sup>1</sup> Murdoch, the historian of the province, believed that the gratitude of the people for the government's bounty and their dependence on the garrison for the circulation of ready cash ensured their loyalty.<sup>2</sup> Of late years the question has been raised again in two detailed and excellent studies. Professor Martin in a section devoted to Nova Scotia of the revolutionary period, refers to the fact that the province depended on the imperial exchequer for much of its revenue, and declares: "Every interest predisposed the province to the constitutionalist point of view. . . . After lavish expenditures [during the Seven Years' War] upon the military and naval establishments as well as the civil government of the province, the prospect of parliamentary taxation for imperial purposes was not alarming, while the direct benefits to be anticipated from the new imperial policy in America were out of all proportion to the revenues or population of the province."<sup>3</sup> Miss Viola Barnes carries the economic analysis of the situation still farther in an article on Governor Legge.<sup>4</sup> She agrees with Professor Martin that from 1765 to 1774 the Nova Scotians needed British money too much to express resentment at British acts; and she finds that in 1774 their merchants decided for loyalty because they perceived an opportunity to supplant the other New Englanders in the West Indian trade. The attempt to examine this view is the excuse for this paper. The fact that Nova Scotia was only one of fourteen colonies suggests that our line of approach ought to be by way of a comparison between conditions in Nova Scotia and those in the other colonies, especially in those which were more backward in accepting the revolutionary point of view.

Our investigation begins with the fate of the Stamp Act in the colonies. During the summer of 1765, before the act went into force, the merchants of the northern colonies conducted a vigorous agitation against the proposed taxes while their fellow-citizens of the artisan classes indulged in demonstrations of a

<sup>1</sup>Eaton, *Chapters in the history of Halifax*, 204.

<sup>2</sup>B. Murdoch, *A history of Nova Scotia* (Halifax, 1865-67), II, 448.

<sup>3</sup>Chester Martin, *Empire and Commonwealth* (Oxford, 1929), 73-93.

<sup>4</sup>Viola F. Barnes, "Francis Legge, governor of Loyalist Nova Scotia, 1773-1776" (*New England quarterly*, July, 1931, 420-447).

less peaceful character. The planters of the southern colonies discouraged violence and confined themselves to petitions by representative assemblies. At the Stamp Act congress, five colonies of the fourteen were not represented. In Virginia and North Carolina the upper classes had not carried opposition so far as to send delegates against the will of their governors, but they lent the congress at least the weight of their moral support. New Hampshire took much the same stand. Public opinion in Portsmouth had declared itself so clearly that the stamp distributor, Messerve, resigned from shipboard at Boston and resigned again to the assembled citizens when confronted at Portsmouth with an exhibition of effigies. The New Hampshire assembly approved the resolutions of the congress and sent petitions to that effect to England. Demonstrations were held, bells tolled, the goddess of liberty was buried and raised again, but without the accompaniment of riot and destruction which had occurred in some of the New England towns.<sup>1</sup> In short, the men of Portsmouth identified themselves with the other colonies. But opinion in the rest of the province was not stirred sufficiently to demand representation in the Stamp Act congress. New Hampshire, which then counted 52,700<sup>2</sup> of a population, was predominantly agricultural, containing few merchants or artisans who were interested in stamped papers. Hence opposition to the Stamp Act, though evident, did not take a violent form.

We now turn to Nova Scotia. During all that summer of 1765, while the other New England colonies seethed with unrest, the peninsular province remained quiet. Miss Barnes cites a hanging of the effigy of the stamp distributor in Halifax before the act went into force, and a threatening letter to the same official after the act went into effect. But so far as our evidence goes, not the faintest of public demonstrations followed the enforcement of the act. The stamp distributor performed his duties with a success which causes Murdoch to remark: "I have observed that the act was so far obeyed here that many stamped deeds were executed."<sup>3</sup> As Miss Weaver found,<sup>4</sup> marks of public discontent appeared only once, in Liverpool. On February 9, 1766, Governor Wilmot was able to report to Secretary Conway: "It is with singular satisfaction I can inform you that

<sup>1</sup>J. Belknap, *History of New Hampshire* (Boston, 1813), II, 251-267.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, III, 176-177.

<sup>3</sup>Murdoch, *History of Nova Scotia*, II, 448.

<sup>4</sup>Quoting Governor Wilmot to the lords of trade (*Series A*, vol. 76, p. 197).

His Majesty's subjects in this province have without any opposition submitted themselves to the authority of Parliament and that the sentiments of a decent and dutiful acquiescence prevail very powerfully here.<sup>1</sup> Yet compliance with the act did not mean approval of the duties in themselves. On July 31, 1766, the council and assembly of Nova Scotia drew up an address to the king, declaring: "We most humbly offer our most dutiful thanks and acknowledgments for the repeal of the act for granting certain stamp duties in America."<sup>2</sup> It would seem, then, that the Nova Scotians liked the stamp duties in themselves little more than did their neighbours but that they preferred to refrain from agitation and demonstration. The calm of the province is attributed by Miss Barnes to its dependence on Great Britain for financial assistance, Nova Scotians not being disposed to bite the hand that fed them.

We may now turn to Georgia. This province furnishes some interesting parallels to Nova Scotia. The population in 1773, as reported by Governor Wright to the Earl of Dartmouth, consisted of 18,000 whites and 15,000 blacks, the number of the whites approximately equalling that of the Nova Scotian people.<sup>3</sup> The members of the upper house, the common council, were appointed by the crown, as in Nova Scotia; the laws were submitted to the home government for approval before they went into force, as in Nova Scotia. Georgia, like Nova Scotia, depended on Great Britain for financial assistance. Jones, the historian of Georgia, estimates that the province had received by grant of parliament nearly £200,000 in addition to generous bounties lavished in aid of silk culture and various agricultural products.<sup>4</sup> Of all the American colonies, he says, "this province had subsisted most generously upon royal bounty and had been the recipient of favours far beyond those extended to sister plantations".<sup>5</sup> As Professor Schlesinger says, Georgia "received an annual subsidy from Parliament besides money and presents intended for the Indians" and had "as many place men and public officers with their connections as the largest and most populous government on the Continent".<sup>6</sup> Here we might

<sup>1</sup>Series A, vol. 77, p. 16.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 182.

<sup>3</sup>C. C. Jones, *History of Georgia* (Boston, 1883), II, 522.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., 170.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., 119.

<sup>6</sup>A. M. Schlesinger, *Colonial merchants and the American Revolution, 1763-1776* (Columbia University studies in history, economics, and public law, no. 182, 1918), 379-380.

repeat Professor Martin's words and say of Georgia as he said of Nova Scotia, "Every interest predisposed the province to the constitutionalist point of view . . . and the direct benefits to be anticipated from the new imperial policy in America were out of all proportion to the revenues or population of the province." Further, the inhabitants were in constant need of British support against the Creek Indians who threatened to wipe out the settlements of the back country.<sup>1</sup> The population of Georgia contained only a few hundred New Englanders, in a compact group in St. John's parish, but in the following years they produced many times as much revolutionary action as the fifteen thousand or so of their compatriots in Nova Scotia. Georgia, then, depended on Great Britain for both military and financial aid and contained a population less likely to cause trouble than that of Nova Scotia. The presence of the slaves also fostered reluctance to encourage disturbance. Therefore, if a sense of dependence or the continued expectation of favours were the decisive factor, the Georgians should have shown even less opposition to the Stamp Act than the Nova Scotians.

Let us see, then, what happened in Georgia. In September, 1765, certain members of the lower house met to deliberate about sending delegates to the congress, but refrained at the instigation of Governor Wright. Apparently only one public demonstration took place before the act went into force, a tumult accompanied by effigy-burning on October 26. On December 5 H.M.S. *Speedwell* arrived with a cargo of stamped papers which the governor at once transferred to the king's store for safety's sake. On January 2 a throng of Liberty Boys gathered in front of that store, threatening it and thereby compelling the governor to post forty men as guard. Next day the distributor, Mr. Angus, arrived in Savannah. Governor Wright was obliged to escort this official to his house under guard, to keep him there for a fortnight, and then to send him away to the country for the sake of his health. A mob now threatened the house of the governor, who found it advisable to remove his papers to Fort George; and another gathering on February 4 renewed the threat, in each case without proceeding to action. Some merchants, who had at first talked against the act, became alarmed for their trade, and made use of stamped papers to clear sixty or seventy vessels from Savannah harbour.<sup>2</sup> We conclude then that a

<sup>1</sup>Schlesinger, *Colonial merchants*, 380.

<sup>2</sup>Jones, *History of Georgia*, II, c. 4.

consciousness of British favours, financial and military, caused misgivings and hesitations among the wealthier classes of Georgia; but it did not prevent the populace of Savannah from intimidating the stamp agent and engaging in threats and demonstrations, such as did not occur in Nova Scotia. We are entitled to say, therefore, that British financial favours did not prevent the manifestation of opposition to the Stamp Act in Georgia. Further light is cast on this question in the case of Connecticut by Professor Gipson of Lehigh University who, in the July issue of the *American historical review*, estimates the parliamentary aid received by that colony from 1757 to 1767 at over £300,000, and declares that "the full extent of the benefit is so extraordinary as to make almost incredible the furious anti-ministerial agitation stirred up in that colony".<sup>1</sup> Other provinces, notably Massachusetts, were also receiving considerable sums of money by way of aid to military expenses but, to all appearances, they did not on that account moderate their opposition to the Stamp Act. In fact the student of the American Revolution does not feel that gratitude for past favours or expectation of favours to come exercised more than a moderating influence on the revolutionary agitation and that among the wealthier classes only, leaving the artisans almost unmoved. Reception of parliamentary benefits, therefore, did not prevent agitation in Connecticut and Georgia. In 1767 the commons house of Georgia refused supplies for the local regulars and thereby caused the Earl of Shelburne to express his astonishment at the conduct of a province "which had been so highly favoured and signally protected by the mother country". The authorities threatened to withdraw the troops altogether from the province and thereby brought the assembly to terms.<sup>2</sup> The incident again indicates that British subsidies and bounties had only moderate weight with the Georgians. They would not have prevented agitation in Nova Scotia among a far less tractable population if other factors had not been at work. We may conclude, then, that the financial dependence of Nova Scotia was not the principal factor in the maintenance of peace in the province.

The next disturbance occurred over the Townshend Acts which became effective on November 20, 1767. Again the merchants of New England led the opposition by non-importa-

<sup>1</sup>L. H. Gipson, "Connecticut taxation and parliamentary aid preceding the Revolutionary War" (*American historical review*, July, 1931, 732-733).

<sup>2</sup>Jones, *History of Georgia*, II, 99.

tion agreements; and within two years they had secured the adherence of every province save two, New Hampshire and Nova Scotia. The Rhode Islanders long hung back, thinking to profit by their neighbours' self-imposed abstention from trade, but yielded under threat of a boycott.<sup>1</sup> Georgia, too, hesitated long. Governor Wright warned the members of the lower house against lending countenance to the suggestions contained in a circular letter from the speaker of the house of representatives of Massachusetts; nevertheless on December 24, 1768, the house entered the circular letter and another to the same effect from Virginia on its journal and passed a resolution approving them. The governor at once dissolved the assembly. The members protested over his head to the king, at the same time acknowledging their "constitutional subordination". In the middle of 1769 sympathy with the northern colonies came to the point of action. The radicals issued a call for a meeting of all the inhabitants of Savannah on September 12 to consider "methods of obtaining relief from the Townshend Acts". The merchants, who were most directly concerned in the payment of duties, had no desire to cease importation; they thought to head off the popular movement by adopting a restricted boycott agreement of their own. But they soon found themselves overridden by a mass meeting of the people which resolved in favour of a comprehensive non-importation agreement. The unwilling merchants then fell into line, although within six months they found means to evade their unwelcome contract.<sup>2</sup> Once more it had been made clear that British subsidies, bounties, commercial advantages had small weight with the populace of Savannah as against sympathy with the other colonies.

New Hampshire for its part made no stir, ignored the agitation on all sides of it. As Mr. Schlesinger says, it lacked "a first-rate trading town" and an "aggressive mercantile class to disturb the general complacency".<sup>3</sup> In other words, the farmers took no interest in duties or commercial disputes; and the few merchants preferred to carry on business. But Nova Scotia lacked neither a first-rate trading town nor a mercantile class, nor did it lack citizens of the more mechanical occupations who might, if they chose, have exerted pressure on reluctant merchants. But when the Townshend Acts went into force, no one in Nova Scotia

<sup>1</sup>Schlesinger, *Colonial merchants*, 152.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, 147-8. See also Jones, *History of Georgia*, II, c. 6.

<sup>3</sup>Schlesinger, *Colonial merchants*, 155.

proposed a boycott of any kind. The fate of the Massachusetts letter we learn from a despatch of Lieutenant-Governor Francklin to the Earl of Hillsborough on July 10: "It was not allowed to be read or answered"—though whether the veto came from himself or the members he leaves in doubt. "The House of Assembly enjoyed the most perfect harmony and without any appearance of giving the least countenance [to the Massachusetts protest] . . . there would have been no difficulty in procuring a vote of their disapprobation in strong terms if it had been thought necessary."<sup>1</sup> On September 9 Francklin wrote again to Hillsborough: "I know of no obstruction the officers of the customs have hitherto ever met with in this colony nor is there the least appearance of their being deterred in future from exerting themselves in their respective offices."<sup>2</sup> Miss Weaver indeed records one riot at Liverpool against a sheriff who seized a schooner for breach of the revenue laws; but this exception merely places the rule in marked contrast. Sympathizers with the colonies, however, now made an effort to win some support in the recalcitrant province. In 1769 they founded the *Nova Scotia chronicle and weekly advertiser* which favoured the colonial cause, published some inflammatory matter and openly discussed separation from Great Britain without the least hindrance from the authorities.<sup>3</sup> Yet this public propaganda roused no response in deed or word, so far as we know. The revolutionary seed fell on stony ground.

In March, 1770, occurred the famous "Boston Massacre". This event stirred to action one of the three slaggard provinces. "The cry of blood", wrote Governor Wentworth of New Hampshire, "seems to infuriate them. Upon this event the Assembly were prevailed upon to forward their petition which would otherwise have slept forever; the people will not be persuaded but that the Commissioners of the Customs and the Revenue Acts are exerted to destroy the lives and absorb the property of the people." New Ipswich and Exeter adopted non-importation and non-consumption agreements: Portsmouth by its town meeting resolved to have no dealings with importers proscribed by Boston. The merchants, it is true, who had all along remained indifferent to the non-importation movement, resumed importing as soon as the excitement had cooled; but the mass of the population had commenced gravitating toward the colonial cause, from a

<sup>1</sup>Series A, vol. 83, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 118.

<sup>3</sup>Weaver, "Nova Scotia and New England during the Revolution", 61.

motive which can hardly be other than sympathy, that sympathy which springs out of a feeling of common nationality.<sup>1</sup> In Nova Scotia, however, not a pin dropped. The cry of blood found no hearers; the assembly forwarded no petitions; the people had no thought that commissioners of customs and revenue acts were exerted to destroy their lives and absorb their property. All was quiet on the Nova Scotian front. Evidently Nova Scotians had not that sympathy, that feeling of common nationality, with the men of Boston which had finally aroused New Hampshire to swamp its reluctant merchants.

Here it may not be amiss to enquire whether the merchants of Halifax abstained from non-importation agreements from the same motive as did the merchants of Rhode Island before these were compelled to give way, namely the desire to make profit by supplying forbidden articles to such New Englanders as felt less zealous in the colonial cause. Nova Scotians enjoyed an excellent situation for engaging in such an illicit trade against the interests of the revolution; their fishermen could as easily run into the more obscure bays of New England as their descendants of the present day who carry more liquid cargoes. Further the men of Quebec, Newfoundland, and Jamaica were busy showing Nova Scotians the way into this lucrative business. English importations into Quebec rose by more than 50 per cent. from 1768 to 1769, into Newfoundland by 40 per cent., into Jamaica by 30 per cent. Nova Scotians should have found it easier to engage in this trade than their fellows of the three other colonies. Yet the remarkable fact is that English imports into Nova Scotia actually decreased by a small amount during this period.<sup>2</sup> What are we to make of this extraordinary situation? Unless we believe that the merchants of Halifax were mentally sluggish during those years, we must conclude that their abstention from non-importation and non-consumption agreements, their want of sympathy with the colonial cause, had no visible economic motive.

In April of 1770, parliament repealed the Townshend Acts except for the duty on tea. The non-importation agreements for the most part collapsed and a period of quiet ensued. In these years a change of governors occurred in Nova Scotia. Lord William Campbell, who had been sworn into office in November,

<sup>1</sup>Schlesinger, *Colonial merchants*, 194-5.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, 237.

1766, was transferred to South Carolina in June, 1773. In his stead arrived Francis Legge, a relative of the Earl of Dartmouth and major in the army. The other principal officers of government were retained, Franklin remaining as lieutenant-governor. To Legge fell the task of directing the government of Nova Scotia during the critical years of the Revolution. Though lacking the vigour and resourcefulness which Carleton displayed through more difficult days in Quebec, Legge showed at least strong resolution to retain Nova Scotia in the Empire throughout three fateful years.

Shortly after Legge's arrival, at the end of 1773, the East India Company's tea reached the continent, to be thrown into the harbour at Boston, and turned back or stored at other ports. The men of Portsmouth, N.H., saw twenty-seven chests landed and stored in the customs house. Thereupon they proposed to Mr. Parry, the consignee, that he should reship it at the first opportunity. He agreed, the town meanwhile allowing him to pay the duty and providing a guard for the customs house. In June, 1774, the tea went off to Halifax. A second cargo arrived, also for Mr. Parry, and caused a small riot during which the offending merchant's windows were broken. Again persuaded by the town he paid the duty and re-exported the tea to Halifax.<sup>1</sup> The men of Portsmouth, although adhering in the main to legality, had aligned themselves with their fellow-colonists. The Georgians apparently had not the problem to solve, since no tea seems to have been destined to Savannah. But Nova Scotia was to face the test. Some of the tea was consigned to George Henry Monk, a merchant of the town; and it was landed and sent to its destination without forcible opposition. But the event had for the first time roused a faint echo of the colonial agitation. "A number of the inhabitants" had gathered at the dock and many of them "complained against the landing of it". Loudest of the complainants was Mr. Fillis, magistrate and merchant of the town, New Englander-born. This man "declared that the measures of government were unjust and oppressive, that he had thoroughly considered it and was firmly of that opinion". Proceeding farther, Mr. Fillis "used several arguments to dissuade the purchase of it". He found support. Mr. Monk had received a suggestion that he share his tea with Mr. William Smith, New Englander-born, merchant of Halifax, J.P. and judge of the

<sup>1</sup>Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, II, 282-3.

inferior court of Halifax County. Having heard, however, that Mr. Smith would not be concerned in it, he addressed the gentleman in person and discovered that Mr. Smith considered dealing in the tea to be "against his principles" and would have nothing to do with it. At the same time the storms in Boston were at last arousing a certain response in rural Nova Scotia. "There have been meetings and assemblies of the people at different times in several of the townships", declared the governor in his proclamation of September 19 "called and held for various purposes contrary to the public good . . . [which] tend to promote illegal confederacies, combinations, public disorders and the highest contempt of government." Yet the agitation resulted in no acts; the tea was landed and distributed without more than verbal opposition. Even Mr. Smith, according to Monk's evidence, recanted and accepted some of the tea. He still retained his doubts, however. In September, 1774, he received a consignment of tea not the property of the East India Company. He consulted his friends, particularly Messrs. Fillis and Boyd, who approved his design, and he then sent a circular note to the merchants of the town. "Mr. Smith's compliments to the general traders and [he] requests the favour of their company to meet this morning at Rider's on business of consequence." Before the meeting, however, he "waited upon" the governor in order to explain his position, since apparently he had previously informed Legge that if the tea had been the property of the company, he would have had nothing to do with it. Later he told the council that he had acted out of fear that the people would be "prejudiced" against the tea if they thought it belonged to the company and that he had summoned the merchants merely to explain the situation and to obtain their aid in disposing of the tea. This apparently was the message he desired to convey to the governor; but he failed to find that worthy in time for the message to be of use. Meanwhile the fate of the meeting was decided from another quarter. Mr. John Newton, also magistrate and New Englander-born, had learned of the proposed assembly and promptly sent word to the merchants that it would be illegal. The meeting was not held. Much unlike their fellows in the other New England colonies, the merchants had refrained from participating in a meeting which was considered contrary to law. Governor Legge at once convened the council and summoned before it Smith, Fillis, and other principal merchants. Mr. Smith explained his motives; Mr. Fillis admitted the advice he had

given Mr. Smith and declared "he looked on all tea alike that was chargeable with a British duty . . . but did not trouble himself about it as he did not deal in it". Having heard this evidence, the council advised dismissal of Smith and Fillis from their governmental offices, a measure which the governor promptly executed. The council further passed a vote of thanks to Mr. Newton for having prevented the meeting. On September 19 they heard the evidence of Mr. Monk; and that day the governor issued the proclamation (quoted above) to forbid public meetings.<sup>1</sup> Either in consequence of this act or other conditions, Legge was able to report to Dartmouth on October 18: "Since the proclamation the inhabitants in general have behaved with due decorum. The East India Company's tea has been disposed of, purchased and dispersed throughout the country."<sup>2</sup> On April 24, 1775, he reported again: "There has not been the least tendency of that sort [disorders]. A ship driven from New York has arrived here and are selling some of their goods and storing others without the least kind of opposition; nor to the free importation of every kind of merchandise though we are loudly threatened from the Continent of their breaking up of all intercourse of trade with us."<sup>3</sup> It is clear that the agitation of the previous summer had made little headway. The New Englanders of Nova Scotia in general had refused to follow the lead of their relatives and were persisting in acceptance of existing imperial relations.

So ended the episode of the tea in Nova Scotia. Even Messrs. Smith and Fillis had carefully refrained from acts savouring of disobedience to authority. Their attitude, however, was misconstrued at Boston where they were hailed as heroes of the revolutionary cause so loudly that General Gage was reported to have placed them at the head of his list of disaffected persons in Nova Scotia. This distinction did not at all please Messrs. Smith and Fillis. On June 16, 1775, they complained to the house that they were greatly distressed by such unjust reports but being unable to detect the "vile traducers of their character", they begged relief from the house. The house, having heard evidence of the alleged traducing, resolved formally: "That this House do esteem Mr. Fillis and Mr. Smith to be dutiful and loyal subjects to His Majesty King George III, that they have acknowledged the supreme power of the British Legislature, that they

<sup>1</sup>Series A, vol. 91, p. 19; *Nova Scotia gazette*, September 20, 1774.

<sup>2</sup>Series A, vol. 91, p. 56.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., vol. 93, p. 190.

have behaved with decency and good order; and this House is unanimously of opinion that the said reports are base, infamous and false."<sup>1</sup> From this official clearance of character we may surmise that Messrs. Fillis and Smith were dissatisfied with some acts of the British government but not with its authority as such, like many a Loyalist in the thirteen colonies. The agitation over tea, like those over the Stamp Act, the Townshend Acts, the "Boston Massacre", had failed to move Nova Scotia.

When the British government learned of the summary treatment meted out to the tea, it passed the famous coercive acts, directed in the main against Boston and Massachusetts. These acts, according to Mr. Schlesinger, changed the controversy in an instant from a difference over economic reforms to a political dispute pure and simple, over the right of parliament to punish and prevent mob violence through blockading Boston and altering the constitution of Massachusetts.<sup>2</sup> The merchants drew back while the mass of Americans went eagerly forward through a motive not economic but political, the desire to realize their own nationality and be rid of all real British control. Twelve colonies blazed with sympathy for Boston, took steps to assist the people of that port, and sent delegates to the first Continental Congress, which adopted a boycott agreement known as the continental association. The assembly of New Hampshire appointed a committee of correspondence. The governor dissolved it; but the members met privately, called for an election to a convention to be held at Exeter, and set aside a day for fasting and prayer. The convention met, chose two delegates to the congress, and sent aid to Boston.<sup>3</sup> In Georgia the radicals of Savannah and the New Englanders of St. John's parish made strenuous efforts to commit the province to the cause of the twelve; they resorted even to packed meetings and misleading announcements of unanimity, but failed before the hesitation of merchants and farmers, and found themselves reduced to sending 579 barrels of rice to Boston. In January, 1775, the radicals called a provincial congress which adopted the continental association with modifications intended to placate the merchants, and chose three delegates to the second Continental Congress. But as only five parishes out of twelve were represented in this convention, and as most of these had tied their delegates with instructions, the

<sup>1</sup>*Nova Scotia gazette*, June 20, 1775.

<sup>2</sup>Schlesinger, *Colonial merchants*, 307.

<sup>3</sup>Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, II, 285-6.

three who had been chosen for the Continental Congress thought it not worth their while to go. The non-importation agreement remained on paper for some time yet and the Loyalists still controlled Georgia.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile in Nova Scotia no effort, scrupulous or unscrupulous, was made to elect delegates or to adopt non-importation agreements. The Continental Congress did not neglect the province, however; it transmitted to the speaker of the Halifax assembly copies of all its resolves and proceedings. But, as Legge was able to report triumphantly to Dartmouth on March 6, 1775: "No answer has been given them, nor any notice taken of their transactions in this province."<sup>2</sup> Nova Scotia would not deviate from its chosen path. It and Georgia still remained as black sheep outside the revolutionary fold. In May, 1775, therefore, the second Continental Congress resolved to suspend exportation to Quebec, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, St. John's Isle, East and West Florida, the British fisheries, and Georgia, excluding St. John's parish. But before word of this had arrived in Georgia, that province had begun to move toward the twelve. The news of Lexington reached Georgia on May 10 and created "the profoundest excitement". The radicals set to work at once and convened a second provincial congress in July which adhered to the continental association, elected delegates to the second Continental Congress and pledged Georgia to her share of the expenses "which have or may accrue in the defence of the violated rights of America". Georgia too had thrown in her lot with the twelve colonies. Here again the decisive factor would appear to have been sympathy with the American cause or in other words a feeling of nationality among artisans and farmers which swamped the unwilling merchants. National feeling had triumphed over economic interests. On October 12 Governor Wright informed the authorities in London: "The poison has infected the whole province and neither law, government nor regular authority have any weight or are at all attended to."<sup>3</sup> Thirteen colonies now stood more or less united while one pursued its course, resolved to maintain the imperial connection.

We are now in position to form a definite conception of the situation in the three conservative provinces. The merchants of New Hampshire, Georgia, and Nova Scotia had all been

<sup>1</sup>Schlesinger, *Colonial Merchants*, 380-6; Jones, *History of Georgia*, II, c. 8.

<sup>2</sup>Series A, vol. 93, p. 158.

<sup>3</sup>Jones, *History of Georgia*, II, c. 9.

reluctant to join in the various agitations from 1765 to 1775. But, in New Hampshire and Georgia, they were eventually submerged by the sympathy of the urban population and the farmers for their American fellows. It would seem, then, that the decisive fact in Nova Scotia was the almost total want of sympathy among artisans, fishermen, and farmers for the American cause. These classes, therefore, and not the merchants were the pivot on which events, or the lack of them, turned in Nova Scotia. In fact, when, in connection with the tea, something like disaffection had arisen in Nova Scotia, it had appeared among the merchants and not among the artisans.

From this standpoint we may now examine Miss Barnes's view. She believes that the merchants of Nova Scotia saw in the impending continental boycott of West Indian trade "a golden opportunity to escape from their economic bondage to New England . . . if the twelve colonies chose to cut themselves off from trade with Nova Scotia and the West India Islands, perhaps Nova Scotia could control her own fisheries monopolistically and appropriate the West India trade". After the various acts by the British government to restrain New England trade says Miss Barnes, "Nova Scotia's hope of economic ascendancy, together with the financial and military support she received from the mother country, more than balanced the obligations demanded of her . . . Nova Scotia remained loyal because the merchant class in control believed that the province profited more than it lost by the connection with the mother country and because the governor with their help was able to prevent the radicals from stirring the people to revolt."

Such is Miss Barnes's view, ably set forth and explained. But in assuming that events depended on the merchant class, this theory admits as the author of this article believes, a serious error. Reluctance of merchants to join the agitations was no feature peculiar to Nova Scotia. It was marked in New Hampshire and Georgia as well; and when the crisis came it was evident even in the more revolutionary colonies. The merchant, says Mr. Schlesinger, speaking of the New Englanders of 1774-5, could not see "any commercial advantage which might accrue from pursuing the will o' the wisp ideas of the radicals. The uncertain prospect which the radical plans held forth was not comparable with the tangible benefits which came from membership in the British Empire under existing conditions. . . . When all was said and done, the merchants knew that their welfare de-

pended upon their connection with Great Britain—upon the protection afforded by the British navy, upon the acquisition of new markets by British arms, upon legislation which fostered their shipping, subsidised certain industries and protected the merchants from foreign competition in British markets. . . . Thus there became evident a strong drift on the part of the colonial mercantile class to the British viewpoint of the questions at issue."<sup>1</sup> The position of the merchants was at bottom much the same from Halifax to Savannah. But in thirteen colonies the radicals overbore both merchants and economic interests; in one they did not. The decisive factor was not the attitude of the merchants but that of the urban populace and farmers. Hence in Nova Scotia also the decisive factor was the apparently loyal attitude of populace and farmers.

In the second place it is doubtful that even the merchants of Nova Scotia were influenced by economic motives to the extent assumed by Miss Barnes. She believes that they resented their "economic bondage" to New England, such bondage consisting in the near-monopoly of Nova Scotian carrying trade by New Englanders. But the Nova Scotians were New Englanders themselves, with nothing to prevent them from doing that carrying trade if they so desired. If they allowed their New England brothers and cousins to do it for them, they must have been satisfied with the situation. The writer has failed to find in the Nova Scotian documents any trace of hostility to New Englanders over the carrying trade or any other economic matter. As for desire to capture West Indian trade from the New Englanders, we may recall that Nova Scotian merchants had shown themselves singularly indifferent to similar opportunities in 1768-1770. Further, such capture would have been of no more than very temporary benefit, of less benefit than the loss caused by the continental boycott, unless the thirteen colonies were to become actually independent. One has serious doubts that anyone in Nova Scotia in 1774 really believed that the thirteen colonies would achieve complete independence. The general expectation was that, in the long run, some arrangement would be reached between the mother country and the colonists, in which case any Nova Scotian hopes of monopolizing fisheries and West Indian trade would die a sudden death. Further, even if a few merchants of Halifax thought of gambling on so uncertain a prospect, why

<sup>1</sup>Schlesinger, *Colonial merchants*, 308-9.

did they alone yield to the temptation of making money out of Boston's predicament, they and not the men of Salem, of Marblehead, of Portsmouth, of New Haven, of southern colonies much better situated to do business with the West Indian Islands? Is it seriously contended that any New England town in 1774 would have deserted Boston in order to supplant that city in the West Indian trade? But if not, another factor beside the purely economic must have been at work in New England proper and not in Nova Scotia, the factor of common sympathy, the feeling of nationality. The absence of national feeling, then, was the decisive factor in the Nova Scotian situation rather than the presence of doubtful economic opportunities.

From every point of view it appears that Nova Scotia's New Englanders remained cold and impervious to the feeling of nationality which was impelling the thirteen colonies to try the difficult ways of revolution in those critical years. Hence, in June of 1775, the month of Bunker Hill, the assembly of Nova Scotia, composed in majority of New Englanders, and at that time at odds with Governor Legge, drew up an address to the king acknowledging in express terms "The King in Parliament to be the supreme Legislature of this province and that it is our indispensable duty to pay a due proportion of the expense of this great Empire".<sup>1</sup> Hence Nova Scotia remained in perfect peace through the summer of 1775 while Legge had at his disposal only thirty-six soldiers to keep order among a population of 20,000, three quarters of whom were New Englanders. Hence, too, every attempt to raise Nova Scotia failed. Succeeding years merely confirmed the province in its stand until the Continental Congress in 1781, when drawing up a constitution for the new confederation, made provision for the admission of Canada but gave Nova Scotia up as hopeless.<sup>2</sup>

W. B. KERR

<sup>1</sup> *Series A*, vol. 94, p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> The above conclusion is purely negative; but the writer hopes some time to be able to present a more positive thesis as the result of further investigation.

## NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

### EDWARD GIBBON WAKEFIELD AND THE BEAUHARNOIS CANAL

THE subjoined document provides another piece of evidence as to the methods which Gibbon Wakefield used in pursuing schemes of colonization and affords a link in the reconstruction of his career in the period between his return to England on the conclusion of Durham's mission and his arrival in Canada again about the beginning of 1842. Neither of his biographers<sup>1</sup> has much to say about these years and it was left to a Canadian historian, Dr. Ursilla N. Macdonnell, to show that he had in 1841 actually paid a brief visit to Canada,<sup>2</sup> a visit of which Harrop (see page 131), whose book was published some time after Mrs. Macdonnell's pamphlet, is patently ignorant. During the two months or so that Wakefield was in Canada, mostly spent at Kingston which had just been selected as the capital of the united provinces, he apparently succeeded in coming into sufficiently close relations with Lord Sydenham to influence the latter into a very substantial modification of his plans for the improvement of the St. Lawrence,<sup>3</sup> a modification which his lordship urged in a message to the legislature on August 20, 1841. The governor-general proposed that, as an exception to the completion of all the canals by means of the loan for £1,500,000 guaranteed by the imperial government, the junction between Lake St. Louis and Lake St. Francis should be effected by using the private investors interested in that particular project, *i.e.*, the owners of the seigniory of Beauharnois, the "North American Colonial Association for Ireland". This was one of Wakefield's enterprises, interest in which largely explained his presence in Canada<sup>4</sup>. Wakefield did not succeed in 1841, but he

<sup>1</sup>R. Garnett, *Edward Gibbon Wakefield: The colonization of South Australia and New Zealand* (London, 1898); A. J. Harrop, *The amazing career of Edward Gibbon Wakefield* (London, 1928).

<sup>2</sup>U. N. Macdonnell, *Gibbon Wakefield and Canada subsequent to the Durham mission, 1839-1842* (Bulletin no. 49 of the Departments of history and political science in Queen's University, December, 1924, February, 1925).

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, 14, 15. Previous to this visit, Sydenham had a very hearty prejudice against Wakefield, but personal contact apparently removed it. See Paul Knaplund, *Letters from Sydenham to Russell* (London, 1931), 97, 136, 140, 142, 144, 152.

<sup>4</sup>Macdonnell, *Gibbon Wakefield*, 17, 18. His association had bought the seigniory from "Bear" Ellice at, to use Sydenham's words, "ten times its value". See Knaplund, *Letters from Sydenham*, 86.

returned to the charge in the next year and managed to win over Bagot. Consequently, despite much contemporary indignation and many charges of corruption, the canal was built on the south shore, through the property of Wakefield's company. Years later (1891), after an expenditure of some two million dollars, the Beauharnois canal, owing to the difficult nature of its entrance, was abandoned and in its stead the Soulanges was built on the north side of the river, over much the same route as the opponents of Wakefield had contended for in 1842. To-day the south shore has won again and by means similar to, though more magnificent than, those to which conjecture at the time ascribed Wakefield's victory.

While the memorandum was presumably addressed to Sydenham, so much of it is concerned with matters with which that statesman would obviously be familiar that it is reasonable to assume that it was in reality intended for the consumption of his councillors. One can imagine it drawn up as a result of conversations between the two, with the object of strengthening the governor-general's hand in securing the adoption of the south-shore scheme as it was put forward later in the session. However that may be, the statement illustrates very nicely that power of handling issues of public moment with clarity, spaciousness, conviction, and apparent disinterestedness which was one of Wakefield's most telling qualities. It also shows him at work in a familiar and congenial rôle, "pulling the strings" behind the scenes, and doing what doubtless he took for good, by stealth.

The writer wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to Mrs. Macdonnell for her assistance in clearing up many of the points surrounding this incident in Canadian politics.

A. R. M. LOWER

#### MEMORANDUM RELATING TO NAVIGATION IMPROVEMENTS<sup>1</sup>

[The new government and the improvement of the St. Lawrence]

Among the most prominent of the arguments for the Union of the Canadas was the facilities to be thereby afforded for improving the navigation of the St. Lawrence, so that Canada should, by means of cheapness of transport between the Lakes & the Ocean, appropriate a large share of

<sup>1</sup>Transcribed from the original in the Public Archives of Canada, *Correspondence of the governor-general's office—miscellaneous, 1841*.

the trade resulting from production in the Western regions of North America.<sup>1</sup> The prospect of this advantage was so warmly urged as a reason for the Union, that it has come to be familiar to common opinion in Canada, in the United States, & even in England. In England, the securing of it will almost be taken as evidence that the Union works well: the failure to obtain it will be deemed a very unfavorable indication of the state of affairs resulting from the Union. The common notion is that Canada has been disabled by misgovernment, or the want of government, from availing herself of great natural resources; that the Union with representation will produce good government; and that then the province will advance in material prosperity in proportion to the depression under which it has laboured. The realization of this hope would seem to be the great object of Lord Sydenham's government.<sup>2</sup> If moreover the new legislature should set to work in earnest upon measures of practical improvement, it will be seen that the people of Canada themselves expect a state of peace, & that they are in a proper frame of mind for verifying their own hope. Confidence in the stability of the new order of things will thus be produced in England; and in this way legislation for improvements may provide the means of carrying it into effect, by disposing British capitalists to advance the requisite funds.<sup>3</sup> The first of such investments by leading British capitalists would tend to revive the disposition of the emigrating classes at home to settle in Canada<sup>4</sup> while the outlay on public works would provide employment for labouring emigrants, and the trading advancement of the Province would open numerous employments for the capital of emigrants possessing property. The stream of labouring emigration would be stayed here instead of proceeding to the States;<sup>5</sup> the arrested emigrants would gain both experience & money wherewith to cultivate land; the settlement of the country would thus be promoted in the best way; and every man would find that his property had increased in value.<sup>6</sup> Through further measures of the same kind Canada would continue very attractive not less to the surplus capital than to the surplus popula-

<sup>1</sup>Upper Canada had bankrupted itself in ill-conceived attempts to build the canals.

<sup>2</sup>As indicated by the innumerable reforms effected by Sydenham.

<sup>3</sup>This was the first blow on behalf of the North American Colonial Association of Ireland, the organization that was to prove willing to advance the funds for the construction of the Beauharnois canal through its own property.

<sup>4</sup>By 1841, immigration was reviving: there were 32,000 immigrants in 1840, 38,000 in 1841, 54,000 in 1842. But, for the most part, they were certainly not the type that Wakefield would have desired. There were too many Irish paupers among them, too few of the men of substance who went to his colonies in New Zealand and South Australia.

<sup>5</sup>A desideratum which was never attained.

<sup>6</sup>This was a hint at the heart of the Wakefieldian doctrine, the sale of land for a sufficient price.

tion of Britain.<sup>1</sup> The State of New York sets Canada the example; and it seems to be in the power of the new legislature to imitate her with results equally beneficial to all concerned.

Such are the opinions with respect to Canada which prevail at home among that new colonizing public<sup>2</sup> by whose exertions the Southern colonies<sup>3</sup> are advancing with unexampled rapidity. If those opinions should be encouraged by the new government of Canada, action in favour of the colony will follow, & with all the force of reaction from the suddenness & greatness of the change. But it must be emphatically stated that, as regards the progress at home of favorable opinion towards Canada, and any investments of British capital in this country, all depends on the proceedings of the new legislature with respect to general politics. No enactment for improvements can be popular at home—no money, I am certain will be forthcoming from British capitalists—unless during the first session the old disputes between the Executive & the Assembly shall be completely laid aside.<sup>4</sup> Harmony among the different branches of the legislature is a *sine qua non* of any good to Canada to arise from a favorable state of opinion at home with regard to the prospects of the colony. It is indispensable to the end in view that the gloomy predictions of the Duke of Wellington in his speech on the Union Bill, should be conspicuously falsified. But if this should happen, the novelty of the smooth working of government here will be all the more signal on account of those predictions to the contrary, and the impression at home with respect to Canada will be even more favorable than if so eminent a person had not prophesied every sort of trouble & disaster from the Union Act.

Supposing this legislative harmony to be established early in the Session, it appears very desirable that some measure of public improvement<sup>5</sup> should be begun & completed as soon as possible. For this would greatly tend to give permanency to the peaceful operation of the new constitution. What the inhabitants of this country want above every

<sup>1</sup>This rosy picture was all very well but there were many factors not foreseen: the commercial revolution of the years 1842-46, the American Bonding Act of 1846, the American tariff of 1846, the panic of 1847, the construction of railroads, all of which combined to cripple Canadian trade and to render the newly completed canals temporarily valueless. Nor did Wakefield appreciate how little land really remained to be taken up, even in 1841.

<sup>2</sup>This "public" consisted of Wakefield himself and the comparatively few men whom he was able to infect with his own enthusiasm.

<sup>3</sup>That is, Australasia.

<sup>4</sup>A condition which Sydenham's first session could reasonably be described as meeting.

<sup>5</sup>Sydenham in his speech from the throne, on June 15, had announced the imperial guarantee of a provincial loan for £1,500,000, and with this assurance, the legislature during the session voted for a large programme of public works. But it needed no penetration to see their necessity, so that there is no occasion to believe that this advice had much influence on the course of events.

thing, is the improvement of their fortunes; and if they should get at once a taste of this best fruit of good colonial government, they will be little disposed to quarrel about speculative political questions. They have been so often deluded with promises of good, that they will scarcely believe in any. The reality will alone convince them. The noise of the breaking of stones for the roads in the Island of Montreal is more agreeable to every order of British colonists, than the finest words of promise that authority could utter to them. Something palpable should take place without delay. The very promptitude with which the measure may proceed to physical [sic] realization would make it appear more clearly to be a result of the new system of government. I can scarcely imagine a case in which it would be more desirable to avoid the waste of force, which in politics so frequently arises from delay between project & execution.

[Necessity of a comprehensive scheme]

Another error to be avoided, which is manifest from its frequency in relation to this subject is that of doing things by halves or quarters. Previous attempts to make Montreal one of the greatest commercial cities of America by bringing to it the export & import trade of the Western regions, have been conducted with the same sort of folly as would consist in attempting to make a river passable by means of only one or two arches of a bridge requiring five or six for its completion. The bit-by-bit plan<sup>1</sup> of opening the way from the Ocean to the Lakes has only wasted public funds, & would almost seem, from its remarkable absurdity, to have had no other object than the outlay of money for the benefit of contractors or of the localities in which the money was expended. The end in view is plain—facile communication *all the way* from the Ocean to the further Lakes. Unless this object should be wholly provided for now—not left in part to the future—it were better to leave all to the future. For the sake of honesty, economy & popularity, it is essential to provide at once for all the works required for easy navigation all the way. The greater cost of a complete measure, though at first sight an objection to it, would, I think, be counterbalanced by the completeness. The wholeness of the plan, & the nearer prospect therefore of the transport revenue & the general prosperity to result from its execution, would satisfy British capitalists that its framers were in earnest & sure of their object: and as confidence begets confidence, to say nothing further of the obvious advantage of being able to show that the work would soon be productive in consequence of being

<sup>1</sup>\$1,887,347 had been spent on the St. Lawrence canals before the union (not including the Welland).

complete, I think it would be easier to raise £1000,000<sup>1</sup> for an entire plan than a quarter of that sum for a partial undertaking.

The whole plan—that is, all the different works indispensable to easy navigation all the way—should, I imagine, be clearly defined in the Act of the legislature; the object of this precision being, 1<sup>st</sup>, to avoid doubt—exciting vagueness; 2<sup>ndly</sup>, to prevent a long contest between various sections of country<sup>2</sup> for the outlay of public money & the attraction of facilities of transport; 3<sup>rdly</sup>, by means of a sure prospect of advantage, to stimulate hope and industry in the sections of country to be specially benefitted; & lastly, to satisfy British capitalists of the reality, sufficiency, and practicability of the measure.

At the same time it would be expedient in some way to treat this measure as only a sample of others which might be expected to result from its success—as a first instalment of the benefit in the shape of public improvements which Canada may expect as the result of the peaceful working of her new constitution. And perhaps there may be cases as to which it would be desirable to find some way of specifying particular works as being contemplated by the Executive in its forethought for the advantage of the Province.

The plan which first recommends itself to my mind is that commonly called the St. Lawrence canals; but I understand it to comprise the improvement of the channel in Lake St. Peter, the enlargement of the Lachine Canal (or another & larger between Lake St. Louis & the heart of Montreal, leaving the Lachine to supply Montreal with water power) and the completion of improvements in the Welland, as well as the completion of the Cornwall and the construction of new works between Lake St. Louis & Lake St. Francis. Any plan which omitted any of these works would be imperfect. The whole of them would realize the popular notion of easy navigation between the Ocean & the Lakes, & by the course which, even in England, under the name of "Improvement of the St. Lawrence", is supposed to be the best. The vulgar sanction of this course is a great recommendation. And lastly, by this plan it would appear that the large sums hitherto wasted on parts of it would be, as it were, recovered for the public benefit; and thus, moreover, capitalists at home would understand, that with the offer of the best security that the Province could furnish, they were only asked for the means of finishing and giving effect to a work on which a great amount of money has been already expended.

The personal pecuniary interest which I may have in promoting an

<sup>1</sup>By 1867, in addition to the sum spent before the union, \$5,789,973 had been spent on the St. Lawrence canals.

<sup>2</sup>His own plan for the Beauharnois canal stirred up the greatest of these contests. Perhaps this was a wily suggestion towards turning his enemies' flank.

outlay of money in the Beauharnois district is so very small,<sup>1</sup> that it need not deter me from urging the superiority of the south side of the St. Lawrence for the works to connect Lake St. Francis with Lake St. Louis. The reasons in favour of this plan seem to be, first, its far greater cheapness; secondly, the policy of convincing the inhabitants of the Southern bank that it is not deemed expedient to neglect their part of the country on account of its vicinity to the United States; and thirdly, the propriety of furnishing to those at home whom I represent, the special motive of their interest in the Beauharnois domain for exerting themselves to obtain funds for the whole work on the most reasonable terms and as soon as possible. I may add, that if a canal through Beauharnois were part of this great public work, the Association which I represent would immediately undertake other improvements on their own account within the Seigniory, and that I am instructed to apply to the Provincial Legislature for a private act for this purpose.

[Financing the proposal: A land policy]

The only obvious security for the proposed loan consists of the tolls to be levied on navigation & the general revenue of the Province. This would, I think, be deemed a sufficient security; & I doubt whether better terms would be obtained if the suggestion of a special mortgage of the revenue derived from Crown Lands were adopted by the Provincial & Imperial Legislatures. The reason why such a mortgage would weigh but little in the estimation of mere capitalists, is that nobody expects any net revenue from that source. Opinion, however, would take another direction if the whole administration of Crown Lands were subjected to [a] permanent system with a view to revenue. Supposing that this were done, and further that what may be termed the original sin of government in Canada were atoned for by the imposition of a general tax on wild land,<sup>2</sup> so as to press hard on the dog-in-the-manger class of great proprietors, & recover a large domain for sale by the Crown under the improved administration, then the special security of the Crown Land revenue would be considered valuable. Its principal value, however, in the opinion of British capitalists would

<sup>1</sup>This passage illustrates very nicely why Wakefield was always suspect. He tries very hard to represent himself as perfectly above board, and it may have been true that he had only a small personal interest in the matter, but, after all, he was acting for a company in which he was the prime mover and which certainly would gain from the decision to build through its property, to say nothing of the profits from the projected loan. His ultimate motive may have been the development of the seigniory in the public interest, or it may not have been. Philanthropy and cunning in him were strangely mixed.

<sup>2</sup>An act for taxing unimproved lands had been passed in Upper Canada as early as 1819; see G. C. Paterson, *Land settlement in Upper Canada* (Toronto, 1921), 128. Taxing of wild land had been uniformly unsuccessful in achieving its object.

be the evidence afforded by the proposal of that security, that the legislature of Canada had adopted those views of colonization with respect to the disposal of waste land & the employment of the produce of its sales, which form the creed of a new colonizing public at home that is now carrying all before it.<sup>1</sup> It is not as a money security but as an earnest of better colonization, that I value the proposed special appropriation of Crown Land revenue to the purpose of public improvements, and I suggest it, not with the view of raising loans at lower interest, but with those of popularizing Canada at home as a field of emigration for other than paupers,<sup>2</sup> and of facilitating the imposition of a wholesome pressure on the great land-owners who are the principal bane of this country.<sup>3</sup>

If Lord Sydenham should think it possible & expedient to dispose himself, of the questions of wild-land tax & Crown Lands administration, according to principles now highly popular at home,<sup>4</sup> an Act distinct from that for the proposed Navigation Improvement would of course be necessary.

It seems desirable that the proposed Navigation Improvement measure should be laid before Parliament at the beginning of the Session,<sup>5</sup> because, in the first place, the subject will be very popular, & seems calculated to turn men's minds from mere abstractions to the consideration of practical interests; & secondly, because, subject to the political conditions mentioned early in this paper, I do think that if a good law should be passed specifying the whole plan, estimating its cost, & properly authorising the Executive to appoint and direct commissioners for carrying it into effect, & for negotiating the loan in England, the money will be procured on reasonable terms, & in so short a time as to surprise this colony with the novelty of a great promise of Improvement thoroughly and almost instantly realized.

Kingston, 9th June 1841.

*This memorandum is by Edward Gibbon Wakefield, and is in his own hand writing.*

W.D. LeS—7 March 1908<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup>See note 2, p. 40.

<sup>2</sup>See note 4, p. 39.

<sup>3</sup>For an account of the extraordinary amounts granted to individuals, see Camille Bertrand, "Concession des terres du Bas-Canada" (Canadian Historical Association, *Annual report*, 1928, 73).

<sup>4</sup>Needless to say, Wakefield's principle of the "sufficient price" was never applied in Canada. For one thing, with the competition of the unlimited cheap land of the United States, it could not have been.

<sup>5</sup>It was not, and probably because of the opposition which it was known the special treatment of the Beauharnois canal would arouse.

<sup>6</sup>This pencilled note on the manuscript was written by the late W. D. Le Sueur, (sic) of the Public Archives and (sic) author of *Count Frontenac* in *The makers of Canada* series.

## THE LITERATURE RELATING TO THE SELKIRK CONTROVERSY

THERE are few controversies in Canadian history on which more contemporary printer's ink has been spilled than the struggle between Lord Selkirk and the North West Company over the Red River settlement. Inclusive of reprints and translations, there were more than thirty books and pamphlets published between 1805 and 1820, relating to this controversy. All of these items are now rare, and bring high prices in the auction rooms. Not one of them, moreover, has been republished at a later time; and it may be doubted whether there exists in any library a complete collection of them. Yet, with the exception of the brief list of authorities in Professor Chester Martin's *Lord Selkirk's work in Canada* (which does not aim at bibliographical detail), there does not appear to have been any attempt hitherto to compile a check-list of these publications, such as would be useful, not only to historians, but also to library workers and book-collectors. In what follows an attempt has been made to distinguish variant editions, to identify the authors of the various items, many of which were published anonymously or pseudonymously, and to determine the relation which the various items bear one to the other.

Apart from a little book which Lord Selkirk published on Highland emigration in 1805—and which gave rise to at least two controversial replies, one by Robert Brown, and the other by James Gordon of Craig—the first gun in the controversy was fired by Selkirk when he published in 1816 his *Sketch of the British fur-trade in North America, with observations relative to the North-West Company of Montreal*. This was written before the massacre at Seven Oaks on June 19, 1816, as were also the *Narrative of Archibald Macdonald*,<sup>1</sup> the Rev. John Strachan's *Letter to Selkirk*,<sup>2</sup> Macdonald's *Reply to the letter*, and the *Communications* of "Adam McAdam."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Archibald Macdonald (1790-1853) was a native of Argyleshire, Scotland. He received a medical education; and in 1812 he was sent out by Lord Selkirk in charge of the party of colonists which reached the Red River in 1813. For a time he was deputy governor of the Red River colony, under Miles Macdonell. On the conclusion of the Red River troubles, he entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company as a clerk; and he spent many years on the Pacific slope, rising to the rank of chief factor in 1842. He died at St. Andrews, Canada East, on January 15, 1853. His journal of his journey from Hudson Bay to the Pacific in 1828, with Sir George Simpson, was published after his death by Malcolm McLeod, under the title *Peace River* (Ottawa, 1872). For a fuller account of his life, see Walter N. Sage, *Sir James Douglas and British Columbia* (Toronto, 1930), 40.

<sup>2</sup>An interesting letter with regard to this pamphlet is reproduced in A. N. Bethune, *Memoir of the Right Rev. John Strachan* (Toronto, 1870), 62-4.

<sup>3</sup>I have been unable to trace any person of this name in the history of the fur trade or of early Montreal; and I suspect that the name was a pseudonym.

Seven Oaks gave rise to the publication, in January, 1817, of the first edition of the *Statement respecting the Earl of Selkirk's settlement of Kildonan*, by John Halkett.<sup>1</sup> The heads of the North West Company thereupon engaged the services of a very able hack-writer named Samuel Hull Wilcocke<sup>2</sup>, who in the spring of 1817 replied to Halkett's *Statement* with his *Narrative of occurrences in the Indian countries of North America*. Shortly afterwards, also, Edward Ellice<sup>3</sup> republished from the Montreal *Herald* his *Communications of Mercator*, upholding the point of view of the North West Company. In June, 1817, Halkett retorted with a second and enlarged edition of his *Statement*, with an appendix of *Observations upon a recent publication, entitled "A narrative of occurrences in the Indian countries," &c.* In Montreal, however, where the *Statement* had already been reprinted, an additional chapter was separately published under the title *Postscript to the statement respecting the Earl of Selkirk's settlement upon the Red River*. This elicited in 1818 a reply from Daniel McKenzie,<sup>4</sup> one of the Nor'Westers who had been concerned in the Red River

<sup>1</sup>John Halkett (1768-1852) was a brother-in-law of Selkirk, having married Selkirk's sister, the Lady Katherine Douglas, in 1815; and was very active in looking after Selkirk's interests in England while the latter was in Canada. He published also *Historical notes respecting the Indians of North America* (London, 1825).

<sup>2</sup>Samuel Hull Wilcocke (1766?-1833) is one of the most intriguing figures in the early literary history of Canada. He was born in Reigate, Surrey, the son of the Rev. Samuel Wilcocke, M.D., afterwards minister of the English Church at Middleburg, in Zealand. Before coming to Canada he published *Britannia: A poem* (London, 1797), *A new and complete dictionary of the English and Dutch languages* (London, 1798), and a *History of the vice-royalty of Buenos-Aires* (London, 1807; 2nd ed., 1820), as well as translations of books in German, Dutch, and French. He seems to have come to Canada about 1817 as a hack-writer in the service of the North West Company, and to have been their literary "Man Friday" throughout the Selkirk controversy. In 1820, however, he fell out with them, was arrested on a charge of forgery, and spent nearly two years in the common jail at Montreal. First at Montreal, and then in turn at Burlington, Vermont, Rouse's Point, New York, and Plattsburg, New York, he published the *Scribbler* (1821-27), a scurrilous journal in which he lampooned from a safe retreat, and under thin disguises, many of the leading people in Montreal. About 1828 he returned to Canada, and became a reporter of the debates in the legislature of Lower Canada. In 1828 he published a *History of the session of the provincial parliament of Upper Canada, for 1828-29*, which is the first approach in Canada to Hansard. I am indebted to my friend, Mr. Egidius Fauteux, for the fact that he died in Quebec on July 3, 1833. Though a man of indifferent character, Wilcocke was one of the best educated men in Canada of his time. He had a wide knowledge both of the classics and of modern languages; and his English was marked by a verve and vigour that has real distinction. A good example of his style will be found in the fragment by him on "The death of B. Frobisher", published by Masson in his *Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest* (2 vols., Quebec, 1889-90). Some further details about his life are to be found in A. H. U. Colquhoun, "A victim of Scottish Canadians" (*Dalhousie review*, 1924).

<sup>3</sup>Edward Ellice (1781-1863) was at this time a partner in the North West Company. See *Dict. nat. biog.*

<sup>4</sup>Daniel McKenzie was one of the wintering partners of the North West Company. He had been arrested by Selkirk at Fort William in August, 1816; but had for a time come to terms with Selkirk. See C. Martin, *Lord Selkirk's work in Canada* (Oxford, 1916).

troubles, in a pamphlet which is one of the rarest of the items in the controversy.

In 1819 Selkirk published, for private distribution, his *Letter to the Earl of Liverpool*; Halkett printed the *Correspondence* which had taken place between Lord Bathurst and himself; and he was probably responsible for the publication of the *Narratives* of Pritchard, Pambrun, and Heurter. On the other side of the controversy, Alexander Macdonell<sup>1</sup> published in 1819 his *Narrative of transactions in the Red River country*. In 1819 the British government published also a blue book on the controversy; and Sir James Montgomery<sup>2</sup> issued a pamphlet containing a speech delivered by him in the house of commons.

Of the trials which took place in 1818 there are no fewer than five separate reports. Reports of the De Reinhard and McLellan trial in Quebec in May, 1818, were published by Samuel Hull Wilcocke in 1818, and by William S. Simpson<sup>3</sup> in 1819; the trials in York in October, 1818, were reported by Wilcocke in a volume printed in 1819, and the trials in Quebec in October, 1819, were reported by him in another volume printed the same year. Finally, in 1820, Andrew Amos<sup>4</sup> published in London his *Reports of trials in the courts of Canada, relative to the destruction of the Earl of Selkirk's settlement on the Red River, with observations*. With this publication—and with the death of Lord Selkirk in 1820, and the union of the Hudson's Bay and North West Companies in 1821—the controversy passed into history.

In the check-list which follows, no attempt has been made to include the numerous printed memorials and petitions connected with the controversy, though reference should perhaps be made to what appears to be a unique copy of a memorial of Lord Selkirk to the Duke of Richmond, owned by the library of

<sup>1</sup>Alexander Greenfield Macdonell (d. 1835) was a wintering partner of the North West Company in charge at Pembina during the Red River troubles. Though a cousin and brother-in-law of Miles Macdonell, the governor of the Red River settlement, he was very active in the North West Company interest. He was afterwards a member of the Upper Canada legislature for Glengarry, and later for Prescott and Russell; and he died while attending the session of the legislature in Toronto in February, 1835. See W. S. Wallace, *Dictionary of Canadian biography* (Toronto, 1926).

<sup>2</sup>Sir James Montgomery, bart. (1766-1839) was a brother-in-law of Lord Selkirk, having married the Lady Elizabeth Douglas in 1804. He was member of parliament for Peeblesshire from 1800 to 1831.

<sup>3</sup>Simpson was one of the earliest stenographers in Canada. He published also a *Report at large of a debate in the house of assembly of the Province of Lower Canada, on the 14th February, 1821* (Quebec, 1821, pp. 64).

<sup>4</sup>Andrew Amos (1791-1860) was a young English barrister, and a fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. For an account of his life, see the *Dict. nat. biog.*

McGill University. This memorial was put to press in November, 1819, but was suppressed before completed.

To Dr. G. R. Lomer, the librarian of McGill University, and to Mr. Aegidius Fauteux, the librarian of the Bibliothèque St. Sulpice, Montreal, I owe a debt of gratitude for most generous help and criticism in the compilation of this list.

W. S. WALLACE

CHECK-LIST

1805

1. SELKIRK, THOMAS DOUGLAS, fifth Earl of. *Observations on the present state of the highlands of Scotland, with a view of the causes and probable consequences of emigration.* London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees & Orme. Pp. lxiii, 223.

Second edition, Edinburgh, 1806.

1806

2. BROWN, ROBERT. *Remarks on the Earl of Selkirk's observations on the present state of the highlands of Scotland, with a view of the causes and probable consequences of emigration.* Edinburgh: Printed for John Anderson. Pp. 353.

Another edition, London, 1806.

3. [GORDON, JAMES, of Craig.] *Eight letters on the subject of the Earl of Selkirk's pamphlet on Highland emigration; as they lately appeared under the signature of Amicus in one of the Edinburgh newspapers.* London: Longman & Co. Pp. 59.

Second edition, with supplementary remarks, Edinburgh, 1906.

1816

4. SELKIRK, THOMAS DOUGLAS, fifth Earl of. *Sketch of the British fur-trade in North America, with observations relative to the North-West Company of Montreal.* London: James Ridgeway. Pp. 130.

A second edition was published in New York in 1818; and a French translation, by Hugues Heney, a Montreal lawyer, was printed in Montreal by James Brown in 1819, under the title *Esquisse du commerce de pelleteries des Anglois dans l'Amérique septentrionale, avec des observations relatives à la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest de Montréal.*

5. MACDONALD, ARCHIBALD. *Narrative respecting the destruction of the Earl of Selkirk's settlement upon Red River, in . . . 1815.* London: Printed by J. Brettell. Pp. 14.

6. STRACHAN, JOHN. *A letter to the Right Hon. the Earl of Selkirk, on his settlement at the Red River, near Hudson's Bay.* London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, & Brown. Pp. 76.

7. MACDONALD, ARCHIBALD. *Reply to the letter, lately addressed to the Earl of Selkirk, by the Hon. and Rev. John Strachan, D.D., &c.* Being four letters (reprinted from the *Montreal Herald*), containing a statement of facts, concerning the settlement on Red River, in the district of Ossiniboa, territory of the Hudson's Bay Company, properly called *Rupert's Land.* Montreal (Lower-Canada): Printed by W. Gray. Pp. 50.

8. MCADAM, ADAM. *Communications from Adam McAdam, originally published in the Montreal Herald, in reply to letters inserted therein under the signature of Archibald Macdonald, respecting Lord Selkirk's Red River Colony.* Montreal: W. Gray. Pp. 57.

1817

9. [HALKETT, JOHN.] *Statement respecting the Earl of Selkirk's settlement of Kildonan, upon the Red River, in North America; its destruction in the years 1815 and 1816; and the massacre of Governor Semple and his party.* London: J. Brettell. Pp. 125, lxxxix; folding map.

Printed for private circulation only. A new, revised and enlarged edition, with *Observations upon a recent publication entitled "A narrative of occurrences in the Indian countries," &c.*, was published in London later in 1817 by John Murray (pp. viii, 194, c; map). An American edition of this was issued in New York in 1818; and a French translation, by Hugues Heney was published in Montreal in 1818 by James Lane, under the title, *Précis touchant la colonie du Lord Selkirk sur la Rivière Rouge.*

10. [WILCOCKE, SAMUEL HULL.] *A narrative of occurrences in the Indian countries of North America, since the connexion of the Right Hon. the Earl of Selkirk with the Hudson's Bay Company, and his attempt to establish a colony on the Red River; with a detailed account of his lordship's military expedition to, and subsequent proceedings at Fort William in Upper Canada.* London: Printed by B. McMillan, Bow Street, Covent Garden. Pp. xiv, 152, 87.

A second edition, revised, was published at Montreal by Nahum Mower in 1818; and two editions of a French translation, by Hugues Heney, were printed in Montreal in 1818 by James Brown, under the title *Récit des événements qui ont eu lieu sur le territoire des sauvages dans l'Amérique septentrionale.*

11. [ELLICE, EDWARD.] *The communications of "Mercator", upon the contest between the Earl of Selkirk and the Hudson's Bay Company on one side, and the North West Company on the other.* Republished from the Montreal Herald. Montreal: W. Gray. Pp. 111.

A French translation, under the title *Les communications de Mercator*, printed by C. B. Pasteur, published in Montreal the same year.

12. [GALE, SAMUEL.] *Notices on the claims of the Hudson's Bay Company and the conduct of its adversaries.* Montreal: Printed by William Gray. Pp. 161.

What appears to be a reprint of this was published in London in 1819. (See British Museum catalogue.)

1818

13. [HALKETT, JOHN.] *Postscript to the statement respecting the Earl of Selkirk's settlement upon the Red River.* [Montreal.] Pp. 195-222.

14. M'KENZIE, DANIEL. *A letter to the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Selkirk in answer to a pamphlet entitled "A postscript in answer to the statement respecting the Earl of Selkirk's settlement on the Red River in North America".* Sandwich. 7 leaves.

15. [WILCOCKE, SAMUEL HULL (ed.)] *Report of the trials of Charles de Reinhard and Archibald M'Lellan for murder, at a court of oyer and terminer, held at Quebec, May, 1818.* From minutes taken in shorthand under the sanction of the court. Montreal: Printed by James Lane and Nahum Mower. Pp. xxiv, 4, 652, 52, 159.

1819

16. BOUCHER, FRANÇOIS FIRMIN. *Relation donnée par lui-même des événements qui ont eu lieu sur le territoire des sauvages depuis le mois d'octobre 1815, jusqu'au 19 juin 1816, époque de la mort de Mr. Semple, avec les détails de son long emprisonnement, jusqu'à son jugement.* Montreal.

17. *Correspondence in the years 1817, 1818, and 1819, between Earl Bathurst and J. Halkett, Esq., on the subject of Lord Selkirk's settlement at the Red River in North America.* [London:] J. Brettell, Rupert Street, Haymarket. Pp. 180.

18. MACDONELL, ALEXANDER GREENFIELD. *A narrative of transactions in the Red River country; from the commencement of the operations of the Earl of Selkirk, till the summer of the year 1816.* London: Printed by B. M'Millan for Egerton. Pp. xix, 85; map.

19. [MONTGOMERY, Sir JAMES, bart.] *Substance of the speech of Sir James Montgomery, bart., in the house of commons, on the 24th of June, 1819, on bringing forward his motion relative to the petition of Mr. John Pritchard, of Red River settlement.* London.

20. *Narratives of John Pritchard, Pierre Chrysologue Pambrun, and Frederick Damien Heurter, respecting the aggressions of the North West Company, against the Earl of Selkirk's settlement upon Red River.* London: John Murray, Albermarle St. Pp. 91.

21. *Papers relating to the Red River settlement: Viz.: Return to an address from the honourable house of commons to his royal highness the prince regent dated 24th June 1819; for copies or extracts of official communications which may have taken place between the secretary of state and the provincial government of Upper or Lower Canada, or to any complaints made of those proceedings by Lord Selkirk or the agents of the Hudson's Bay or the North-West Companies; also for copies or extracts of the reports made by the commissioners of special inquiry, appointed to inquire into the offences committed in the Indian territory so far as can be made public without prejudice to the public service, or to judicial proceedings now pending in Canada.* Ordered by the house of commons to be printed, 12 July 1819. [London.] Pp. 287; 3 maps.

That part of this blue-book which contains the Coltman report has been reprinted in the *Collections of the State Historical Society of North Dakota*, IV, 1913, 449-463.

22. SELKIRK, THOMAS DOUGLAS, fifth Earl of. *A letter to the Earl of Liverpool from the Earl of Selkirk, accompanied by a correspondence with the colonial department (in the years 1817, 1818, 1819), on the subject of the Red River settlement in North America.* [London.] Pp. 224.

Printed for private distribution only.

23. SIMPSON, WILLIAM S. *Report at large of the trial of Charles de Reinhard for murder (committed in the Indian territories), at a court of oyer and terminer held at Quebec, May 1818, to which is annexed a summary of Archibald M'Lellan's indicted as an accessory.* Montreal: Printed for the reporter. 1819. Pp. xii, 340.

24. [WILCOCKE, SAMUEL HULL (ed.).] *Report of the proceedings connected with the disputes between the Earl of Selkirk and the North West Company, at the assizes, held in York in Upper Canada, October 1818.* From minutes taken in court. Montreal: Printed by James Lane and Nahum Mower. 1819. Pp. xxiii, 200, 218, 55, 4, xlvi.

Another edition published in London the same year by B. McMillan.

25. [WILCOCKE, SAMUEL HULL (ed.).] *Report of proceedings at a court of oyer and terminer appointed for the investigation of cases from the Indian territories, held . . . at Quebec . . . 21st October, 1819.* Montreal: William Gray, 1819. Pp. vi, 120.

1820

26. AMOS, ANDREW. *Report of trials in the courts of Canada, relative to the destruction of the Earl of Selkirk's settlement on the Red River; with observations.* London: John Murray. Pp. iv, 388.

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

*The Compact Theory of Confederation*, by N. McL. ROGERS; *The Development of Canadian Federalism*, by F. R. SCOTT; *Some Further Comments on Dominion Provincial Relations*, by J. S. EWART (Papers and proceedings of the annual meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association, III, Ottawa, 1931, pp. 205-230; 231-247; 248-258).

THE so-called "compact" theory of Confederation has been put forward at intervals during the past sixty years and during these later years has been exalted by its believers into the governing principle of the federal union. The result has been that it has been subjected to scrutiny and analysis; from which it emerges virtually in tatters. Particularly destructive is the examination of the claim and the evidence in its support made by Professor N. McL. Rogers of Queen's University, which appears in the *Proceedings of the Canadian Political Science Association, 1931*.

The theory in its extremest form, as it has been set out in late years by its partisans, who have been in the main concerned to exalt the powers of Ontario and Quebec, is that the Dominion is the child of the provinces and that the ultimate control of the constitution with all that this implies is vested in them. The attempt to establish this doctrine at once lands its advocates into difficulties. There are nine provinces; of necessity they must have equal power and responsibility. Yet it is indisputable that three of the provinces are the creation of the Dominion—a fact in itself that reduces to absurdity the view of a federation brought into being by provinces and continuing to function by their consent. Then where is the evidence of the paternity of the provinces of Ontario and Quebec in relation to the Dominion? They only came into being by virtue of the act that brought the Dominion into existence. If the Dominion has parents, with parental powers in reserve, pride of place must be held by the old province of United Canada, no longer in being. Moreover, we have the opinion of a past lord chancellor of the judicial committee of the privy council that none of the provinces of to-day are continuing pre-Confederation entities. These provinces in the opinion of Lord Haldane returned their powers to the imperial parliament and were reconstituted by the British North America Act.

"Just technicalities" one can hear the champions of the compact theory mutter scornfully. But surely technicalities can be justly invoked in rebuttal of a claim which rests upon the slimmest, the most transparent technical argument. Their whole case looks for support to the use of the word "treaty" in the Confederation debates in the parliament of Canada by the supporters of the seventy-two resolutions adopted by the Quebec conference. A dignity and importance are given to this "term" wholly unwarranted by the known facts. The "Fathers of Confederation" through the magnifying and, at the same time, softening haze of six decades loom as statesmen of heroic mould.

Statesmen they were by every fair test; but they were politicians too—politicians resourceful and not too scrupulous. In the Confederation debate, as in every major parliamentary discussion, the arguments were directed towards obtaining an immediate objective and not to the end of supplying support for the fanciful theories of posterity. What John A. Macdonald, George E. Cartier, and the other advocates of Confederation were especially interested in was securing the consent of parliament to the seventy-two resolutions as they stood against the searching criticisms of Antoine Dorion and Judge Dunkin. The tactical necessities of the situation required the adoption of the resolutions without change. The readiest way to secure this was to claim that the resolutions were in effect a treaty and therefore unamendable.

Further study of the Confederation debates reveals other explicit statements by the "Fathers" and declarations giving rise to reasonable inferences which collide disastrously with the claim that the provinces have a veto power over any proposition looking to a change in the constitution; but these the upholders of the "compact" theory conveniently overlook. It can be quite conclusively demonstrated by quotations from the debates that it never crossed the minds of the "Fathers" that the provinces would have any of the powers so extensively claimed in recent years by special pleaders for Ontario and Quebec. They looked for the defence of minority interests, which was the object of their particular concern, to the senate and to the representatives of these minorities in the commons and in the government itself. The only reference to the possible amendment of the constitution clearly envisages the procedure that has been followed—an amending act by the British parliament based upon a request by the Canadian federal authority.

The compact theory breaks down under any one of a dozen tests. The fact that the B.N.A. Act is not the seventy-two resolutions in legislative form is in itself conclusive. Professor Rogers, by a study of original documents, shows that the resolutions were not regarded by the government of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick as having the qualities of treaty stipulations. They were never submitted to the legislatures. No tribute was ever paid to their sacrosanct qualities. They were regarded merely as a tentative draft of a possible arrangement; but the question of final adjustment was remitted to a further conference to be held in Westminster at which the British North American representatives would enter into consultation with the imperial government. Sir John Macdonald's correspondence can be drawn upon to support the view that he was equally aware that the seventy-two resolutions had no final binding force. Professor Rogers's study of this aspect of the question is completely destructive of the compact theory.

Professor Rogers also reviews anew the record of the successive amendments of the British North America Act which gives no comfort to the upholders of the theory that the provinces have powers of intervention or veto. At intervals the compact theory has been put forward but it has always been rejected by the government of the day, by the commons and equally by the senate. The imperial parliament, at the request of the parliament of Canada, has upon occasion modified the British North America Act in particulars materially affecting the powers

and interests of the provinces, without any attempt at intervention by these provinces. Upon the one occasion when a province did intervene to forbid an amendment to the British North America Act requested by the Dominion parliament, it had to be content with a meaningless verbal flourish. To-day the imperial parliament would be still less inclined than in 1907 to recognize the veto power of a province if it were attempted against the Dominion parliament. It can safely be assumed that the British government and the imperial parliament in the exercise of functions still reserved to them under the Statute of Westminster, will recognize the Dominion parliament as the authentic voice of Canada. It would, therefore, seem advisable for extreme advocates of provincial claims, as expressed for example in the consultations between Dominion and provincial governments in 1930, to modify their views and to seek protection for provincial rights by consenting to a reasonable "compact" which will give the provinces their proper, if subordinate, place in the Canadian federation.

J. W. DAFOE

*The Journal of Jeffery Amherst recording the Military Career of General Amherst in America from 1758 to 1763.* Edited with introduction and notes by J. CLARENCE WEBSTER. Toronto: The Ryerson Press; Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1931. Pp. xxiv, 341. (\$7.00)

CANADIAN history is under a new debt to Dr. Clarence Webster for this beautiful volume. He has made a great collection of Canadiana at his home in Shediac, New Brunswick, by researches pursued with zeal, discriminating and unquenchable. The present Lord Amherst has given him a free hand with the family papers, now removed from the seat, Montreal, in Kent, which has been sold, to the owner's house in London, where it is to be hoped they will be secure from destruction by fire. Dr. Webster has already printed two journals by Lord Amherst's brother, William, and now we have this full journal written by Amherst's own hand. He left eighteen small volumes of numbered journals of his campaigns; those relating to America, no. 8 to no. 18, are here reprinted with only trifling omissions. They cover the whole field from Amherst's receipt of his appointment to America on January 14, 1758, while on service in Germany, to his sailing from New York in November, 1763, when he was followed as commander-in-chief by General Gage. The period is the most momentous in the struggle with the French and it is a boon to have the daily jottings of the leader in command of all the British forces in America from Canada to Florida. It must have been burdensome to write the journal day after day as anyone knows who has kept a diary and Amherst's persistence is admirable.

At one time the fame of Amherst in England was not unlike that of the Duke of Wellington after the fall of Napoleon. Amherst had made Britain master of North America and on his return in 1763 he was received as a great conqueror. But his reputation has not endured. True, his name is on the map in that of towns in America and of a fine college, but the average person who knows why Wolfe is famous would be puzzled by the name of Amherst. History is capricious in its awards

of fame. It fixes on dramatic incident and ignores the quiet service that may count for much more. Wolfe died in battle and the rival French leader was also killed. This is good material for a picture, material of which Amherst furnished little. Even at Louisbourg Wolfe's dashing courage is remembered while Amherst's steady pressure on the fortress is half forgotten.

This journal will, it is likely, have the effect of enhancing Amherst's military reputation. His actions after his return to England showed that he had the greed of the time for booty from government. He claimed the confiscated estates of the Jesuits in Canada as a part of his rewards and, when balked in this by Sir Guy Carleton, secured in compensation a pension of three thousand pounds a year for his heirs. He clung to office both as nominal governor of Virginia and as commander-in-chief of the British army, without any nice consideration as to whether he was earning his generous pay. Such things make him seem a selfish, greedy man. Yet this journal reveals him as kindly, thoughtful for others, so hard working that he is up sometimes at two in the morning, and always showing alert intelligence as to what is going on. He is the enemy of abuses, watchful to effect economy in the service, careful for the comfort of his men, and so merciful that he feels acute pain to have to consent to executions for persistent thefts or for desertion. He notes in his journal not only the death of fellow officers but also that of individual privates and makes severe comments when needless risks are incurred. His eye is keen for natural features in a landscape. When he went down from Montreal to Quebec in 1760, he set out at three in the morning on the last day of the journey, arrived at Quebec at eight, breakfasted with Murray, who was commanding there, then walked over the town, "a heap of ruins indeed", and after this went out to the Plains of Abraham to see where Wolfe was victorious and Murray lost a battle. He then went on to Ste. Foy, returned by the Lorette Road and "in the afternoon went round the Ramparts" (p. 257), surely a busy day.

Amherst is free from vanity. It was against his expressed wish that the whole of Boston turned out to welcome him when he went there after the fall of Louisbourg and he deprecated a similar welcome at New York. None the less did he find in New England a spirit that boded ill. The governor of Connecticut resented hotly his demand for wood for the guards and hospitals; he was "petty fogging", "silly", and "equivocating" but in the end gave the necessary orders. It was a phase of the "quartering" that had much to do with the Revolution.

Amherst's obvious defect is excessive caution. Yet in 1758 he would have pushed on to Quebec after the fall of Louisbourg but was checked by the admirals. In the next year he loitered on Lake Champlain building a useless fort at Crown Point but even for this he had reasons—instructions from Pitt, uncertainty as to the French power of resistance in defending Montreal, uncertainty increased after the capture of Quebec, since the French leader Lévis would then concentrate at Montreal. It is true of Amherst that he was rather too much of the professional soldier working by rule. One wonders what would have happened had he commanded at Quebec and Wolfe on Lake Champlain. Possibly Montreal, not Quebec, would have been the first British trophy

in Canada. Possibly, also, Wolfe would have taken undue risks and have perished in the hour of defeat and not of victory.

The journal is in eleven sections. I is to June 18, 1785, when Amherst begins the siege of Louisbourg; II ends with the surrender; III covers the period to Amherst's appointment as commander-in-chief. Later sections cover the advance on Lake Champlain in the summer of 1759 that achieved little, and also the plans for 1760 in which Amherst commanded the army that gathered at Oswego and descended the St. Lawrence to Montreal which surrendered on September 8, 1760. After this the scene shifts from Canada to New York and the most important events relate to Amherst's co-operation with Sir William Johnson in meeting the dangers of the many Indian risings, and the massacres, linked with the name of Pontiac.

While there is little in the journal to alter previous conceptions it reveals the working of Amherst's mind. He has little confidence in the provincial troops; they get drunk when they can and lack discipline; they are not as hardy as the British regular, used to the rigour of camp life; they are perennially ailing and homesick and desert in great numbers. Amherst has little but scorn for his Indian allies. Their conduct filled him with fury. Chiefly by treachery they took, with the accompaniment of massacre, every frontier post except Detroit and Pitts Fort. When Amherst captured Fort Lévis on his descent to Montreal his Indians dug from their graves the French dead and scalped them.

Dr. Webster has added to Amherst's text many portraits and cartoons chiefly from his own collection. They increase the attractiveness of the volume. The useful notes relate almost wholly to biographical details in respect of persons mentioned. The book is one of "The Canadian historical studies, a library of historical research", with Dr. Lorne Pierce as general editor supported by ten associate editors representative of historical interests in Canada. Its publication jointly by the Ryerson Press, Toronto, and the University of Chicago Press reveals an interesting combination.

#### G. M. WRONG

*Statistical Contributions to Canadian Economic History.* Volume I: *Introduction* by W. A. MACKINTOSH; *Statistics of Banking* by C. A. CURTIS. Volume II: *Statistics of Foreign Trade* by K. W. TAYLOR; *Statistics of Prices* by H. MICHELL. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1931. Pp. xii, 93; 93. (\$10.00)

ECONOMIC research has not only been born, it has attained firm foothold, if not vigorous growth, in Canada. These volumes attest it—as the *Studies in history and economics* of the University of Toronto and the still earlier *Economic studies* of McGill have previously attested it in a general way. They throw open to review and interpretation on a new and enlarged scale three of the most important fields in which economic progress in Canada has been reflected since Confederation—namely, banking, foreign trade, and wholesale prices. No reference to their contents must begin without warm tribute to the universities of Queen's and McMaster, to the Social Science Research Council of the United States, and to "a number of business corporations and private individuals" who financed the undertaking, without which support, needless

to say, the scholarship devoted to its execution would have been in vain.

Professor Mackintosh in volume I describes the genesis and objects of the work. Adequate understanding of many of our present problems "awaits further research on special topics, and further work on the important quantitative records of economic activity". Banking, external trade, and prices are, in particular, subjects which require the most careful judgment in putting their records in reliable and convenient form. These records are essential to the study of the business cycle, which needs to be carried back to a simpler era, when external and more easily segregated forces were dominant. In the progress of that cycle do speculation, general business, and credit move in the order named? These volumes will help to supply the answer. In a better conceived world the statistics of such subjects as trade and banking would be entirely of official origin and the economist would be left free to labour at their meaning and interpretation. But that is not the world we live in, and until the present volumes appeared, the Dominion could not be said to possess a single consistent and continuous presentation of these records, other than in the form of items, over the whole period of its corporate existence.

Volume I is devoted to a re-assembling of the banking statistics of Canada from the earliest times until the present, by Professor C. A. Curtis of Queen's University. It was a supremely necessary task. In Canada, with the decennial revision of the Bank Act in plain view, no subject is more under the searchlight at the moment. From the standpoint of banking theory, the Canadian system, due to its unique relations at many points with the rest of the continent, has a peculiar interest. Finally, as a problem in statistics pure and simple, few fields afford a better illustration of the arbitrary difficulties that arise when statistics are mere by-products of administration. The available statistics of banking consist wholly of the returns which the banks under various statutes have made monthly or annually to the government. Originally the nature of this return was prescribed in the charter granted to each bank, and its primary purpose was (as indeed it is to-day) to permit judgment to be exercised as to the wisdom and safety of the bank's proceedings. An annual return was deemed sufficient in the 1820's and '30's, but the monthly system became general by the '50's and was confirmed in the first effective Bank Act for the whole Dominion in 1871. The point of difficulty for the statistician lies in the frequent and sometimes extensive changes made from time to time throughout this early period and up to the present, in the scope and character of the returns prescribed. Mr. Curtis has cleared up these difficulties with a degree of painstaking and laborious effort that leaves nothing to be desired. Indeed, he may justly claim to have bettered the originals, for his researches have revealed and corrected a number of inaccuracies and confused statements that might easily have led the unwary astray. As a result, we have now for the first time a categorical description of each item of the banking statement and its vagaries from the earliest times, based on which is a continuous monthly record from 1856 until the present—the whole within the confines of a single document. Numerous new calculations and analyses, including a table of the Dominion

note issue and a record of operations under the Finance Act since its inception in 1914, are added. It was the original intention to analyse as well as to present these raw materials, and to extend them so as to include a survey and interpretation of the annual reports of the banks to their shareholders—the latter a most desirable addendum which it is to be hoped Professor Curtis with his admirable equipment for the task will carry into effect as soon as possible. Whilst the present work will appeal primarily to the banker and the student of banking, it is of even greater import to the general economist. For the historian, it provides an interesting dissertation on the evolution of business methods and of the general attitude of the Canadian government and public towards their major financial institutions.

In volume II, Professor Taylor carries back from 1915 to Confederation the main classification for imports and exports which has been employed since 1915 in the official records of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics—a classification in which the items are grouped according to their component materials. In addition, he has worked out the degree of variation in the value of Canadian trade from year to year due on the one hand to current changes in prices, and on the other to changes in the volume of the trade—a by-product of which calculation is a valuable series of indexes of import and export prices. There is thus made available a continuous "group analysis" of trade from the first years of the Dominion until the War, from which date the present system of official statistics takes up the tale in full. The balance of trade is incidentally analysed throughout this period in its relation to "prosperity", and the significance of the "invisible" items made clear. Import and export prices are also related by Mr. Taylor to the business cycle in a way that deserves to be stressed: "in international trade heavy imports of capital improve the bargaining position of the borrower." An excellent series of diagrams accompanies the tables. The classifications now made in the official statistics of trade on the principles of "purpose" and "origins" respectively, are not attempted by Mr. Taylor. To regret their absence is decidedly to look a gift horse in the mouth, yet external trade bulks so large in the economic life of Canada that its analysis in the light of every basic consideration is more than a counsel of perfection.

Professor Michell's "Survey of prices in Canada from 1848", which completes volume II, breaks new ground and assembles new materials. He has collected monthly figures for seventy staple commodities from 1868 to 1890, and for twenty agricultural products from 1848 to 1867. The price indexes of the Bureau of Statistics date from 1890. Combining his data with these, Mr. Michell has worked out an annual index number of fifteen foodstuffs covering the sixty-five-year period, 1848-1913, and of seventy miscellaneous commodities for the fifty-seven-year period, 1868-1925—the latter including thirteen group numbers. For thirty-five commodities there are monthly index numbers over the period 1868-1918, but the omission from these of staples like lumber, furs, and fish detracts from their representative value. Mr. Michell of course specifically disclaims finality for his results and it was undoubtedly wiser to proceed with the publication of the important data in hand than to hold back for a list that could only be secured by laborious search in the archives of private companies. The new numbers are made the basis for a succinct

and interesting review of the general economic trend in Canada from the days of reaction which followed the repeal of the Corn Laws: through the "boom" of the '50's; over the steadily rising tide of the '60's; down the long and grinding decline that stretched from 1873 to 1896; and up to the recovery of the early years of the present century, culminating in 1912. A section on "the great cycles of price movements" has some pertinent remarks on the vagaries of individual Canadian prices in these general swings both up and down. For the technician, Mr. Michell's employment of the geometrical mean and his choice of basic years leave nothing to be desired. He has unquestionably opened a quarry to which the economist of the future will repair again and yet again.

An illustration of this last remark is, in fact, provided in an addendum to Mr. Michell's work itself in which an intensive study is made of "Individual price movements, 1868-1913". This is the joint work of Professor Hurd formerly of Brandon College and Mr. Thomas Brooks, and its object is to examine the connection between such prices and the general trend, in the interests of business forecasting. The sequence of individual price-turns in the forty-five years before the War, the amplitude of the upward and downward swings, and the duration of the rises and falls are in turn examined for some fifty commodities, the technique following that of Dr. Frederick C. Mill's *Behaviour of prices* in the United States.

These volumes are of excellent augury. Canada offers a unique field for the inductive study of numerous world-wide problems in economics—as witness Professor Viner's examination of the classical theory of international trade based on the Canadian statistics of 1900-1912. Moreover, Canada must not take her economic thinking of the future from others. To inspire and promote clear thought nothing could be better calculated than a publication like that under review.

R. H. COATS

*Martyrs de la Nouvelle France.* Par GEORGES RIGAULT et GEORGES GOYAU. (Extraits des *Relations et lettres des missionnaires Jesuites*, publiés par G.R. [XVIIe siècle] et G.G. [XVIIIe siècle].) Introduction générale par GEORGES GOYAU. (Bibliothèque des missions, Mémoires et documents, I.) Paris: Editions Spes, 17 rue Soufflot. 1925. Pp. xii, 279. (20 fr.)

*L'Idée Missionnaire aux XVIe et XVIIe Siècles: Les Doctrines, les Méthodes, les Conceptions d'Organisation.* Par FRANÇOIS ROUSSEAU. Préface de Mgr BAUDRILLART. (Bibliothèque des missions, Mémoires et documents, II.) Paris: Editions Spes. 1930. Pp. vi, 142. (18 fr.)

*Martyrs du Canada.* Par HENRI FOUCERAY. Terminé, revu et publié par le P. ALAIN de BECDELIEVRE. 2e édition. Paris: Tequi. 1930. Pp. xiii, 351. (15 fr.)

THE founders of the Bibliothèque des missions desire to reinstate the history of missions in the study of general history, believing that "passer sous silence l'effort missionnaire d'une nation, c'est mutiler l'histoire nationale elle-même". To the volume which deals with the Jesuit martyrs of New France M. Georges Rigault has supplied a luminous and scholarly introduction. A number of extracts are reprinted from

the *Jesuit relations* edited by Thwaites. M. Georges Goyau also supplies an account of the life and death of Père Sébastien Racle and three letters are given—two by Père Racle and one by Père de la Chasse. Light is thrown on the double struggle which took place around the Abenakis: the struggle between Boston and Quebec for the possession of their territory and the struggle between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism for their evangelization. M. Goyau has done his best to make a reasonable choice between the contradictory witnesses on the attitude of the Abenakis and the chief actors in this drama. He gives an impartial account of the events which came to a head in the murder of the Jesuit whom the Bostonians accused of being simply a political agent, but he is inclined to the view of Père de la Chasse that the Jesuit was sacrificed in hatred of his ministry and his zeal to establish the faith. The documents published relative to Racle are taken from the *Lettres édifiantes* (édition Aimé Martin, Paris, 1838).

In chapter V of the volume by M. François Rousseau Canadian readers will find a résumé of missionary work in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Acadia, on the Saguenay, and in New France. The author touches on the question of languages and the difficulty of translating the general and mystic ideas of Christianity. He points out the importance of the distinction made by the Franciscan Jamet and the Jesuit Le Jeune between the nomadic and the sedentary Indian tribes. The foundation of schools and hospitals is dealt with as well as the military assistance given by the government.

Père Fouqueray, the author of several works of history, died before finishing his work on the Jesuit martyrs and Père de Beccelière brought it to completion. Père Fouqueray was a conscientious worker, relying on authentic documents, as he shows in this history of the missionary work of the Jesuits in New France in the first part of the seventeenth century. The authors have related with care what is known of the life and apostleship of the martyrs who were canonized in 1925.

EDMOND BURON

*The Fatal River: The Life and Death of La Salle.* By FRANCES GAITHER.

New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1931. Pp. 303. (\$3.00)  
IN spite of the rather fanciful title and of such headings of chapters as "The lifted foot", "Voices in the forest", "Sails", "Eldorado", "Cross currents", this is a serious biography of La Salle embodying adequate research. The method is the current one of the day based upon the determination to be interesting and dramatic. Sometimes even an artist like Mr. Guedalla, who uses it in *The duke*, tends to weary the reader by over-production of the picturesque, and Miss (or is it Mrs.?) Gaither has not his gift of style. The method gives us the banality that "The year 1683 came to an end" (p. 193) as, of course, it did. In spite of this the book is based on the examination of all the material available. The chief source is Margry's great collection. There is no evidence of the use of manuscript sources, if, indeed, any are still unexplored, but the twelve pages of lists of books related to the subject are a useful guide to its literature. The author is sometimes careless about names. We have "Brehant", for Bréhaut de Galinée; "Canada Royal Society", not the correct title; "Bordalue" for the famous French

preacher; and so on. There is no "island" of Quinté and "seignor" is not a recognized spelling.

The merits of the book are in its full account of the difficulties that La Salle confronted, of the complexity of his character and, above all, of the hardships, the astounding hardships, that he faced over and over again to unveil the mystery of the Mississippi River; to plant a French colony where it should rival the success of Spain and perhaps acquire Mexico; and no doubt to win for himself the rewards of success. It is not, however, this quality that seems to dominate his character. Here was a great task and from his youth he was fascinated by the problem. He had some of the qualities of a great leader but not all. He never spared himself. If any hardship was to be faced he would be always at the front in doing his share. But he was sensitive, morose, imperious, and it was this last quality that caused his murder by some of his resentful followers. In spite of failure he stirred France to an interest in the Mississippi that found unhappy expression in the extremes of gambling in the later "Mississippi bubble". France was never fortunate in her efforts in Louisiana. In this book we find what marks too much of her colonial effort—the bitter, incessant quarrels among the chief persons in authority. Later Iberville and Bienville, Canadian leaders in Louisiana, are at strife with others. Canada and Louisiana, and not only Frontenac and La Salle, were the victims of such strife. There is a survival of it still in the politics of France. It may be that it was one chief cause of France's ready abandonment of her efforts in North America. In 1763 she yielded both Canada and Louisiana with hardly a pang.

A valuable feature of the book is the series of twelve maps, photographic reproductions from contemporary sources. The modern map, on the inside of the cover, of Louisiana in La Salle's time is admirably clear. It would have been fitting that the book should have included fuller accounts of Tonty and Joutel, the faithful friends of La Salle, who made their way to Canada after his death. Each of them is indeed worthy of a separate study. History has been capricious in half-forgetting a true hero such as Tonty.

G. M. WRONG

*Reports on the Laws of Quebec, 1767-1770.*<sup>1</sup> Edited with an introduction and notes by W. P. M. KENNEDY and GUSTAVE LANCTOT. (*Publications of the Public Archives of Canada*, no. 12.) Ottawa: F. A. Acland. 1931. Pp. 92.

THIS is a collection of reports from the governor, the chief justice, and the attorney-general of Quebec, written in the year 1769 for the information and guidance of the ministry in England. The reports were the result (and the only direct result) of Lord Shelburne's resolution to bring to some settlement the difficult question of the laws of Canada. The collection consists of the report (known as the *Draught*) proposed by Attorney-General Maseres and rejected by Governor Carleton, the final report signed by Carleton, and two dissenting opinions signed respectively by Maseres and Chief Justice Hey. Maseres's two papers

<sup>1</sup>The book also bears the title *Rapports sur les lois de Québec, 1767-1770*. The French and English versions are printed back to back.

have long been in print; Carleton's and Hey's had been lost for more than a century and a half and are now first printed; the original draught by Hey, and a draught by Maurice Morgann, who was sent out by Shelburne to assist the local officers, are still missing, but their probable content may be deduced from the papers here published.

Carleton's report is thus the central piece in the collection. It may be divided into five parts. First is a view of the laws and government of French Canada, comparable to, and perhaps based upon, the *View* written by Maseres a year or two before (*Lower Canada jurist*, 1857, I). Secondly, a statement of the defects of the legal system which at the moment existed in Quebec. This statement is quite similar to that in Maseres's *Draught*. Thirdly, an argument to the effect that the attempted overturning of the French laws by the provincial ordinance of 1764 had resulted in burdens too grievous to be borne by the French inhabitants. Here Carleton differed from both Maseres and Hey. Fourthly, a plan for the reconstruction of the court system. This was perhaps based upon the plan of Hey. Like Maseres's scheme, it is very reminiscent of the old Canadian system; unlike Maseres's it provides a place for a chief justice; it smacks also of Carleton in several places, particularly in the provisions for the employment of captains of militia. Finally, and most important, there is a recommendation as to substantive law. Here again Carleton differed from both his law officers. He desired French law practically complete, except in criminal matters and in respect to the right of *habeas corpus*. This was, of course, consistent with his general Canadian policy. Hey and Maseres both preferred the general introduction of English law, except as to the law of real property. This was in conformity with the views which their patron Charles Yorke, as attorney-general, had put forth in his report of April, 1766. As to Morgann, he was probably little more than the reporter of the opinions of Carleton.

The collection is well edited and well printed, with French and English versions back to back. No attempt has been made to analyse the documents, but the very useful index makes possible easy and speedy reference to any part of them, though over-condensation has occasionally led to inaccuracies in this part of the book. Professor Kennedy, who discovered Carleton's report in the British Museum, contents himself in his introduction with discussing the provenance of the documents, their loss and recovery. The reviewer has to quarrel only with the implication that Carleton's report was not available in England in the early 1770's. It is clear that both Wedderburn and Marriott used it in their reports of 1772 and 1773. The supposed Morgann report referred to on page 8 is certainly a report by Morgann, but, as Professor Kennedy surmises, it was written before his appointment to Canada (*Shelburne papers*, Clements Library, Ann Arbor, 64: 525; the marginal notes and the last part of the paper are in the hand of Morgann; the date is probably very early in 1767). Some useful corrective and bibliographical notes have been added to Carleton's remarks on the Canadian laws. For the rest, the editors have been too willing to accept Messrs. Shortt and Doughty's explanatory notes; on page 9, note 4, for example, it is implied that the instructions devised for, but not sent to, Carleton in 1766 have not been found. Actually

they may be consulted in at least two series of documents in the Canadian Archives. They are of considerable interest and ought to be printed.

A few blemishes in the editing may be pointed out. The matter-of-fact statement (page 5) that Murray's ordinance of 1764 introduced English law and procedure begs a very important question. Morgann was not under-secretary to Shelburne in 1782; he was then secretary to Carleton in America; he ranked as an under-secretary to Shelburne in 1767 and to Hillsborough in 1768 (page 6, note 5). The implication that Maseres's *Draught* was submitted as an official report is misleading (page 6). The letter from Shelburne to government referred to on page 8 does not exist; the reference is to an office memorandum prepared for Shelburne, incorrectly endorsed by his librarian. The footnotes on page 11 are incomprehensible. Yorke was not attorney-general in 1767 (page 13, note 1). Maseres's reference on page 34 is not to the ordinance of 1764 but to the additional instruction and ordinance of 1766. The expression "British laws" ought not to be used, even in an index, as though it meant the same thing as English law. These are small points which scarcely detract from the usefulness of a book which all students of the period will find of great value.

S. MORLEY SCOTT

*The Correspondence of Lieut. Governor John Graves Simcoe, with Allied Documents relating to his Administration of the Government of Upper Canada.* Collected and edited for the Ontario Historical Society by E. A. CRUIKSHANK. Volume V. 1792-1796—(Supplementary). Toronto: Published by the Society. 1931. Pp. xii, 292.

THIS is volume V, 1792-1796, Supplementary, of the series, collected and admirably edited by General Cruikshank; and it is by no means the least interesting. It begins with a memorandum written by Joseph Brant, and ends with the letter written by Simcoe to the bishop of Quebec on his way to England. The former is interesting as containing a protest to the "Bostonians" (alias Americans) against the conception diligently spread of Brant's character and conduct, which is well illustrated by Thomas Campbell's libel of him in *Gertrude of Wyoming*, as "the monster Brant": Brant truthfully says that he has "always been for saving & releasing" those whom he had captured. Simcoe's letter shows that his leave of absence was imperatively called for by his bad health (due apparently to a great extent, to the mosquitos of Upper Canada), and that he expected to return. His gout is much in evidence, as he is unable to write for a time. The correspondence between Brant and the Rev. Samuel Kirkland, some of which is given us, sheds a favourable light upon the character of the Indian; Brant's devotion to the British cause has caused him to be grossly maligned.

It is impossible to read the correspondence here set out, whether the letters between Simcoe and his officers, or between authorities in Canada and persons in the United States, without being aware of the constant fear in Canada of aggression from the south—a fear that was, by no means, without solid ground. We see, too, the real desire of Simcoe, and, speaking generally, of all in authority in Canada, that there should

be a firm and lasting peace between the United States and the Indians of the territory north of the Ohio. There is an echo of the disaster of St. Clair and the triumph of "Mad Anthony Wayne". Simcoe's desire for peace did not prevent him asking for guns and shells to protect his province.

The passport of Rochefoucault given by the British agent at Philadelphia, George Hammond, is copied; and it is mentioned that he was given a letter of credit on a firm in Montreal, "it being difficult to procure here [Philadelphia] any similar letter to Merchants in Upper Canada": the passport did not avail to procure him entry into Lower Canada, but he made good use of his visit to Upper Canada.

The escape of a mulatto slave from Detroit to Cincinnati is given some notice, as is, also, the evacuation of Detroit and other posts in the United States under the terms of Jay's Treaty.

Names familiar in the early history of Ontario, occur from time to time—David William and Thomas Smith; Alexander McKee, who has been so much maligned by some writers; Joseph Chew; E. B. Littlehales; Colonel England; Prideaux Selby; Matthew Elliott; Colonel Butler; Sir William and Sir John Johnson; Talbot; Cornplanter; John Small; and dozens of others are displayed by themselves or others in writing, occasionally in not too flattering an aspect.

The facile and learned editor adds a very interesting account of the meetings of the executive council, and its labours; the applications for grants of land read like a catalogue of old settlers.

There are, no doubt, other documents of the times of Simcoe, which may come to light later; but everything that skill and industry could do to bring all such documents to light has been done in these five excellent volumes. It is good news to hear that the series is to be continued after the time of Simcoe; but if General Cruikshank does no more than he has already done, he has well earned the thanks of all interested in the early history of the Province of Ontario.

WILLIAM RENWICK RIDDELL

*The John Askin Papers. Volume II: 1796-1820.* Edited by MILO M. QUAIFE. Detroit: Published by the Detroit Library Commission. 1931. Pp. 829.

THIS is the second volume, edited by the same competent hand as the first, of the papers of John Askin (a scion of the Scottish Erskines) of Detroit and later of "Strabane" in the western district of Upper Canada. The documents are of considerable interest for the history of Ontario, in showing the condition and the trials of the early inhabitants of the western border. By no means the least valuable part of the publication consists of sketches of the life of many persons of that region—in all of those, which I have had occasion to examine minutely, I have found great accuracy. Nor are the early inhabitants of Detroit without mention—Detroit, which turned out more drunkards than any other place of its size in the United States.

Those were the times when a man was imprisoned for debt, and tried to get his release by enlisting as a soldier, when forty-five whitefish filled a barrel, when Montreal was "overrun with Scotchmen", when land was bought of Indians and paid for by watered rum—whiskey could not be

obtained, when the lieutenant-governor of the province directed who should occupy the state pew in the Catholic church at L'Assumption (Sandwich), when the Kentucky boat was the usual form of transport by water, when timber-stealing was common (but when was it not?), when wrecks occurred with alarming frequency on the Great Lakes, and when a new route was sought to the upper country and its lucrative fur trade by way of Yonge street and the Matchedash portage. (This trade, indeed, was passing from British hands, largely through Astor and his colleagues.) Through the pages fit many figures well known in Canadian history: lieutenant-governors, Simcoe, Hunter; administrators, Grant, Russell; legislative councillors, Cartwright, Hamilton; members of the assembly, D. W. Smith; chief justices, Powell, Elmsley, Allcock, as well as Weekes and Mr. Justice Thorpe; the fomenters of all the disorders amongst the Commons. Dr. Quaife would be the last man to expect all to agree with him in all his conclusions, and he will not find Canadian students generally in agreement with his dogmatic judgment on the story of Laura Secord. However unacceptable the common version may be, there seems little justification for dismissing the episode as he does in his index: "Secord, Laura (myth)".

The anxious fears of those on both sides of the Detroit River during the troublous times before the War of 1812, the desertions from either side to the other, and the protests called out from both peoples are amply illustrated. A lighter touch is given by such documents as the letters of Askin's daughter, which range from the subject of perennial interest, fashions, to advice to "Uncle William [Robertson], not to marry an American girl. That would make the Canadian girls so angry that he would have no peace with them." It is of interest to know that such a lady was not to powder her hair, but "curl it quite high in front, leaving it hanging at the back", and that the proper head-dress was "of Brown velvet, the cap in the shape of a Turban, trimmed with narrow gold Twist and white feathers, the hair in small curls all over the head".

It is impossible even to indicate the many incidents of great interest, some amusing and some tragic. As in all the publications of the Detroit library commission under the editorship of Dr. Quaife, this volume leaves nothing to be desired in paper, type, proof-reading, or binding—it is a worthy volume in every way.

WILLIAM RENWICK RIDDELL

*The Colonial Land and Emigration Commission.* By FRED H. HITCHENS. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1931. Pp. xviii, 344. (\$3.00)

The author of this volume seems to have set himself the task of describing during a period of some forty years, the physical organization, the mechanics, of a subordinate branch of the British civil service. In this task he has succeeded and it is now possible to know the exact salary of every employee of that branch during each year of its existence. While we may be grateful to him for having called our attention to the commission's existence and duties, he has, unfortunately, lost sight of what would have given his book real value; he had under his hands the story of a rich experiment in social history, the control of one of the

great folk-wanderings of humanity; instead of appraising that vast effort in control and direction, tracing its success or failure as reflected in the communities with which it was associated, he prefers to tell us how many ships were chartered year by year.

The author's investigation has been patient and exact, but an exercise in the mechanics of research does not make a book. One cannot but feel that the book's significant passages—and there are significant and useful passages—might have been brought within a much smaller compass. The work is overloaded with a meticulous compilation of detail, a great deal of which is trivial. Take for instance chapter III, "Organization and personnel", of which there are thirty-seven pages. Paragraph after paragraph is devoted to minute accounts of the offices occupied by the commission, to wages paid, to the establishment maintained, to the volume of correspondence handled, and so on (e.g., page 60, "Finally on Saturday, May 2, their new home was ready and on the following Monday the furniture was moved from Middle Scotland Yard. From May 6 on, the letters of the Board bear the new address, 9 Park St., Westminster.")

The choice of language and form is not always fortunate. The presence of eleven or more split infinitives is not in itself a capital crime, but there is considerable repetition and too frequent use of such phrases as "it was up to" (instead of "it was the duty of", p. 258) and "ad." (for advertisement").

The best parts of the book are probably the summary and conclusion, a convenient source of information, and the study of the commission's administration of the Passenger Acts. The author's remarks as to the effect of the change from sail to steam on the conditions of emigration also provide interest, as do one or two other points, such as the summary respecting Indian coolie migration, but, even in these passages, rarely if ever does one feel that the inside of the story is revealed; the emphasis is on externals—matters of routine and administration.

Presumably as long as some universities require the candidates for their doctorate to print their theses, books like this will continue to be published, but it would seem more merciful, both to reader and writer, to allow the thesis to rest until time had separated its gold from its dross.

A. R. M. LOWER

*The Story of Laura Secord: A Study in Historical Evidence.* By W. S. WALLACE. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1932.

Pp. 26. (.50)

WHAT, exactly, is the authentic story of Laura Secord? Nobody, apparently, knows—not even Laura Secord. Her renowned reminiscences began to take "story" shape many years after the events which they embroidered. And Fitzgibbon himself wrote in haste, and only from far memories, when supporting her claims to attention by government.

Everybody in her Niagara neighbourhood recognized the whole Secord connection as the salt of the U.E.L. earth, and patriots through and through, both before and after, as well as during, the War of 1812; and nobody, not even the most maligned historian, has anything to say

against the Secords now. The only point at issue is whether or not Laura Secord gave Fitzgibbon such information as enabled him to escape the wiles of the American invaders who welcomed his arrival on the scene at Beaver Dams with open arms. Having been defeated, they were able to surrender to Fitzgibbon, without too much danger and loss of prestige, when gladly accepting his assurance that his little party (of forty-eight men of all ranks) was only the advanced guard of an overwhelming force.

Some facts emerge clearly from a careful examination of the evidence. To begin with, it was the British Indians, and not Fitzgibbon, who defeated Boerstler's Americans; and Laura Secord never claimed to have informed any Indians. Next, Lieutenant Fitzgibbon was between the scene of action and the supporting British forces. He heard the action, came into touch with its conclusion, and handed over the command to Major De Haren, who received the actual surrender. Colonel Bissopp was in command of all the advanced forces, and he was deservedly praised by General Vincent, who also praised Fitzgibbon when reporting to the commander-in-chief how Boerstler had surrendered to De Haren. The Indians are also mentioned in all the principal despatches. But there is no official mention anywhere of Laura Secord. Neither, so far as is known, is there any unofficial mention of her name in any contemporary record of any kind at all. When or how she impinged upon the concatenated line of Boerstler—Indians—Fitzgibbon—De Haren—Bissopp—Vincent—G.H.Q., is, apparently, more than anybody knows.

Times, places, people, and events are all shown in their proper correlations in the four final paragraphs in which Mr. Wallace gives us his own conclusive answers in the negative to his own introductory question: "Does Mrs. Secord's narrative harmonize with these facts?" The evidence does not disprove the possibility that Mrs. Secord attempted to convey information to the British commander, but it seems clear that she did not influence the result of the engagement. If, after this, the public still wants a Laura Secord who "saved the country" in 1813, it must go exclusively to those writers of alluring fiction whose works will not sell at all unless they drag some woman in.

Mr. Wallace's foot-notes form an admirable guide to the authentic original evidence so conscientiously massed together by General Cruikshank in his practically exhaustive *Documentary history of the campaign upon the Niagara frontier in 1813*. The article contains also several documents, not hitherto printed, which give interesting information regarding Mrs. Secord's applications to government for the right to a ferry at Queenston and for a pension.

WILLIAM WOOD

*The Voyageur.* By GRACE LEE NUTE. New York and London: D. Appleton and Company. 1931. Pp. viii, 289. (\$3.00)

Miss NUTE has performed one of those tasks that we all feel the need of, but that most of us hope will be done by someone else, because they involve a great deal of tedious research. Everyone who has studied early western history must have been impressed with the fact that the humble *voyageur* had not been allowed the credit to which he was fairly

entitled as an important factor in the fur trade, in exploration, and in settlement on the frontier. Miss Nute has lifted him out of his unmerited obscurity and given him the place which was justly his in the history of the west. To do that she has dug out of the voluminous literature of the region and the period a mass of material on every aspect of his life and personality, and out of this material has woven an extraordinarily interesting story, in which he figures as fur-trader, explorer, soldier, settler, and mere man, and in which we see him against his familiar background of canoe, camp-fire, and trading-post, with the accompaniment of those engaging folk-songs by which he relieved the tedium of many a long day's paddling. Altogether Miss Nute has done an excellent piece of work.

One or two points may be noted. Radisson's reference to "comers and goers" (p. 62) must mean Indians. There is certainly no ground for supposing that white traders had reached the south-western shores of Lake Superior before Radisson. Washington Irving's description in *Astoria* of life in a trading-post—perhaps more picturesque than accurate—related not to Grand Portage but to Fort William (p. 64). The height of land is much nearer Lake Superior than Rainy Lake, and it is a trifle misleading to suggest that there is any distinct eminence from which waters flow to the Atlantic, Hudson Bay, and the Gulf of Mexico (pp. 66-67). It is hardly correct to say that one of the requirements of a trading-post was that it must be near Indian villages (p. 79), as throughout most of the country of the fur-trader Indian villages did not exist.

*A propos* of the reference to Harmon and his native wife (p. 88), it may be interesting to note that one of his daughters conducted for many years a private school for girls in Ottawa. The proprietor of the dog hotel on lower Red River (p. 93) must have made an extraordinarily good income if he got "two dollars a day for each dog". Also the Rainy River post of the North West Company can hardly be classed as one of the "great" forts (p. 94), although it was for a time the terminus of the fur brigades. The Bytown song on pages 141-2 is a lumbermen's song, not a *voyageur* song. When the *Masson papers* were disposed of a good many years ago, the catalogue included a collection of *voyageur* songs, quite possibly those collected by Wentzel (p. 155). I could never find what became of them. Benjamin Sulte, the historian, told me that he had looked over them when they were in Masson's possession, and that they were for the most part unprintable. Two minor errors may be noted: "Varrenes" should read "Varennes", and "Lord Mount Royal" presumably refers to Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal or possibly to Lord Mount Stephen. These are, however, as will readily be seen, merely the inevitable slips that even the most conscientious writer must make, and do not in any material sense detract from the very real merit of Miss Nute's achievement.

LAWRENCE J. BURPEE

*The Gentlemen Adventurers.* By ROBERT E. PINKERTON. Introduction by STEWART EDWARD WHITE. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. 1931. Pp. viii, 357. (\$4.00)

ON the wrapper of this volume Mr. Pinkerton introduces himself to the reader as having had two years at the University of Wisconsin, some

journalistic experience in Milwaukee, and five years in the wilds of the north during which he held, or rather did not hold, forty-two jobs. Apparently the job held longest was a summer at an isolated Hudson's Bay Company's post where he gained his "first real understanding of the organization and of the men who worked for [the company]". He has written in conjunction with his wife six novels and this volume. He feels sure that they have "reached four million words".

Mr. Pinkerton has read widely in the printed sources of the history of the fur trade and this volume is a sketch of that history, in many parts all too slight, with a very large admixture of comment and of criticism mostly adverse to the Hudson's Bay Company. The value of such a work depends largely on the point of view of the writer and his conception of history. Does he desire to display the panorama of the actual events or is he dominated by some idea—perhaps, from the point of view of history, some vicious idea?

Mr. Pinkerton, as might be expected, is in search of thrills and no matter how important the history may be he complains if he cannot find them. "We have now followed the Hudson's Bay Company for nearly a century and have yet to find what we are looking for—an era of adventure, romance and restless energy, of devotion and loyalty, the conquest of a continent" (p. 72). With this point of view, the author must have found the many pages devoted to the early history of the company a veritable *via dolorosa*. He gives vent to the anguish of his soul in indignant criticisms of "the smug and ancient gentlemen"—the governor and committee of the company—for attending to business and eschewing adventure. The very dividends which the company paid steadily through the years become a ground for loud complaint. At last to the great relief of the author's soul Henry Kelsey appears upon the scene and tells the story of his journey to the prairies of Manitoba (it should be Saskatchewan). "He furnishes the first thrill in the story of the Hudson's Bay Company" (p. 77). Other thrills are found in the journeys of Anthony Hendry, and of Samuel Hearne.

Naturally the men from Montreal and the wintering partners of the North West Company supply the romance for which Mr. Pinkerton is searching, in good measure, pressed down and running over. Ignorant of the inner story of the union of the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company, and unaware that, discontented with the policy of their Montreal agents, the winterers requested the Hudson's Bay Company to take the agency, he sees in the union a complete victory for the North West Company. After the union, the achievements and the success of the Hudson's Bay Company, we are told, were due to the North-westers. An old Hudson's Bay Company's servant is quoted with approval: "The Hudson's Bay Company never amounted to a damn until the North West Company joined it" (p. 113). Mr. Pinkerton's search for romance gives the whole volume a false perspective, but many of his chapters are very readable and many of his diatribes against the Hudson's Bay Company and historians at large sharply phrased.

It is impossible to note here more than a few of the many mistakes in the book. "De Signalay" (p. 48) should, of course, be De Seignelay, the minister of Louis XIV. The oft repeated "Groseillers" is Groseilliers. "Sir Robert Johnson" (p. 123) should be Sir William, the superintendent

of Indian affairs. "Bouthe" (p. 233) should be "bout", the man in charge of the end of the canoe.

A. S. MORTON

*Charters, Statutes, Orders in Council, etc., relating to the Hudson's Bay Company.* London: Hudson's Bay Company. 1931. Pp. ix, 249.

THIS is an interesting collection of legal documents bearing on the Hudson's Bay Company, published, to all appearance, for the use of the officers of the company and for lawyers in its service. A brief preface of nine lines expresses the hope "that at least the student and practitioner before the Courts will find an interest in and a use for the volume".

The first group of documents is entitled "Charters". At its head is the hoary charter of May 2, 1670. It has not been sufficiently appreciated, perhaps, that this document was drafted not simply to grant the monopoly of the trade into Hudson Bay, but to prescribe forms of government to a colony. Radisson, the accomplished publicity agent of Groseilliers and a company promoter of no mean order, had held out the prospect of reaching the Great Lakes by a broad stream and descending another broad stream to the Pacific Ocean. Had the company discovered a waterway by rivers and lakes or by a mediterranean strait to the Southern Sea they would have had ample legal authority to found a colony on the way to China with forms of government already prescribed for it. As it was, their colony was at first restricted to the fur-posts on Hudson Bay, but later took a somewhat more ample form in the Red River settlement. In the governance of both, the governor and council prescribed by the charter were strictly adhered to. For example, a council book, was kept for York Fort in the days of James Knight and Henry Kelsey, in which, among many items dealing with the fur trade, trials of delinquents were recorded. However, in the course of time divergences from the charter crept into the practice of the company. For instance, the old system of stock was changed to shares when the company was bought out by the International Finance Society in 1863. The "Supplemental charter, 9th September, 1884"—the second charter in the list—was secured to legalize these modifications and permit other desired changes. These are summarized in the preamble of the next charter (p. 43) as follows:—

It was provided amongst other things that the said Governor Deputy Governor and Committee should be enabled to act by any four members thereof whether the Governor or Deputy Governor should form one of such four or not; that a General Court for the Company should be held every year at such place and on such day in November or December as might be appointed by the Board; that every question submitted to a General Court should be decided by a show of hands unless a poll were demanded by at least five present at such General Court and holding in the aggregate not less than one hundred shares; that in computing the majority when a poll should be demanded reference should be had to the number of votes to which each Member should be entitled by the said supplemental Charter; that every Member of the Company should have one vote for every five shares in the Company held by him and that any of those Members who held less than five shares might join their respective shares so as to make up five or more shares and have one vote jointly for the same; that votes might be given personally or by proxy; that the Chairman might with the consent of the Meeting adjourn any General Court and that at every General Court three members of the Board should retire in rotation as therein mentioned but should be eligible for re-election.

The third charter, dated March 30, 1892, provided for an elaborate

classification of the shares as ordinary, preferred, and deferred. This system was abolished by the fourth charter, dated July 4, 1912. Provision was now made (p. 59) for the division of £10 shares into shares of not less than £1, and for the issue of new shares. The clause dealing with the sale of lands (p. 59) which re-enacted a somewhat similar provision of the previous charter is of great interest:

The sums received by the Company in respect of the sale of lands accrued and accruing to the Company under the terms of the Deed of Surrender may (subject to the provisions hereinafter contained) be applied in the payment of dividends on the shares of the Company to the same extent and in the same manner as the profits from the Company's commercial undertakings. Provided always that no sums received from the sale of these lands shall be so applied until and unless the Directors of the Company are satisfied upon each occasion of such application that the value of the unsold lands of the Company together with the other assets of the Company other than the Special Reserve Fund hereinafter mentioned are sufficient to meet all the liabilities of the Company including the then capital And provided further that out of the proceeds of sale of all such lands as may be sold after the date on which this Our Charter takes effect the Directors shall set aside a sum of not less than \$2 for each acre of land so sold and invest the moneys so from time to time set aside in or upon such investments or securities as the Directors may from time to time select for that purpose with power to vary such investments. The moneys so invested and the investments and securities for the time being representing the same shall be retained by the Company as a Capital Reserve Fund available for the repayment at such time or times as may be thought expedient of the then paid-up capital of the Company for the time being.

The income arising from such investments and securities shall be treated as part of the General Assets of the Company.

The charter of May 5, 1920, gave the company the right to "carry on Trade or Commerce of every description in any part of the world and for such purpose to hold property and to do all acts matters and things in relation thereto or in connection therewith in any part of the world" (p. 70).

The supplemental charters were issued like the first and all important charter by royal prerogative under the king's sign manual, the seal being duly attached. Their publication puts most important and interesting material at the disposal of the student of the company.

Under the head of "Imperial acts" are fourteen items, mostly extracts, beginning with the recognition of the privileges of the company by parliament in the time of William and Mary (2 W. & M. c. 23) but, as the pamphleteers of the North West Company persistently proclaimed it upon the house-tops, limiting their enjoyment to seven years. The others down to the Rupert's Land Act, 1868 (31 & 32 Vic. c. 105), imply more or less explicitly the validity of the charter of the company. These documents, while procurable, are hidden away in as many ancient volumes. The student will welcome them in this very serviceable form. One wonders why the preamble of the Quebec Act, 1774, is omitted, for the western boundary of Quebec, running from the Mississippi "northward to the southern boundary of the territory granted to the Merchant Adventurers of England trading to Hudson's Bay" definitely limited Quebec, left at least that part of Rupert's Land to the west of the line outside Canada and made the claims to the Red River and to the "fertile belt" of the Saskatchewan re-iterated by Canadian governments from 1857 till 1869 without foundation in law.

The group "Dominion acts" includes the clauses of seven Dominion land acts, so far as they affect the company's lands. Of the orders-in-

council, imperial and Dominion, the Dominion "Order in Council No. 229, Feb. 14, 1924" is important in that it is the final settlement of outstanding difficulties between the Dominion and the company over the lands, arranged before the transference of the natural resources to the provinces. This should be read along with the agreement of December 23, 1924 (p. 235), and the letter of the deputy minister of the interior of March 26, 1924 (p. 241), published in the next group.

Among the "Miscellaneous" documents are the licences to the company giving them the exclusive trade to the North West Territory, as distinguished from Rupert's Land which was covered by the charter, and documents relating to the colony of Vancouver's Island. The most interesting item is the re-conveyance of Red River Colony by James, the Earl of Selkirk of that time, to the Hudson's Bay Company, an extract from which is now for the first time made public. At last the date can be definitely stated as May 4, 1836.

It is evident that this is a most serviceable volume for all students of the Hudson's Bay Company and of the history of the North-west. It might well be kept before the attention of students by being listed with some firm of publishers.

A. S. MORTON

*Far Places.* By JAMES MACKINTOSH BELL. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1931. Pp. xv, 174. (\$3.00)

THE book is divided into six chapters. The first two, which comprise nearly half the volume, are the most interesting to Canadians as they are an account of an expedition which extended over two years, during which the author explored the Great Bear and Great Slave Lakes in far north-western Canada. The story told in these chapters is an account by a man of mature years of what he and his companions did on his first exploratory trip thirty-two years ago. He was then a young man just out of college, hardly more than a boy, who had been sent to explore one of the most remote and unknown parts of Canada, evidently with instructions to find his own assistants and men as best he could from among the inhabitants of the country, very few of whom had been accustomed to work regularly or continuously, or to obey the instructions of others. However, he was particularly fortunate in the choice of his assistant and canoe men. His assistant was Dr. Charles Camsell, now deputy minister of mines for the Dominion of Canada, the son of the chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company for the Mackenzie River district. He had just graduated from the University of Manitoba. He had been brought up in the Mackenzie River country, and was at home on its lakes, rivers, and hills and among its inhabitants. Two of the canoe men were native half-breeds who were accustomed to secure a living by hunting and fishing and who could live almost anywhere in that part of the world though strangers might quickly starve. With their assistance the author successfully concluded the explorations that he had been instructed to make.

The geological results of his exploration of Great Bear Lake have already been recorded in the official reports of the Geological Survey of Canada. One of these referred to the occurrence of cobalt bloom, a bright pink mineral in the rocks at Echo Bay, at the south-east corner

of the lake. This record has induced several experienced prospectors from Cobalt and Porcupine in northern Ontario to visit the district in the last few years, and as a result the rich ores of silver and radium have been discovered and there is a prospect of the district developing into a great new mining field.

The second half of the book relates the author's experiences on four subsequent journeys to other distant and far-separated parts of the world, namely, New Caledonia, Siberia, Jamaica, and Albania.

The author is a Canadian, born in the province of Quebec, but educated in Ontario. After graduation from Queen's University, Kingston, he was engaged as an assistant geologist on the Geological Survey of Canada, and in that capacity was sent as assistant to his uncle, Dr. Robert Bell, one of the grand old geologists of whom Canadians are so justly proud, to explore Great Slave Lake and to check the correctness or otherwise of many reports of mineral discoveries which were being sent out from there. In the autumn when his uncle left to go back to Ottawa, he was told to stay for the winter with the trader in charge of the Hudson's Bay Company's post at Fort Resolution, in order that he might be prepared to continue his exploratory work in the following spring.

During the winter he received instructions to explore Great Bear Lake, several hundred miles farther north, in one of the least accessible and most inhospitable parts of Canada where none but the strong and self-reliant should attempt to go. He was twenty-two years old when he started from his winter quarters at Fort Resolution down the Mackenzie River to the mouth of Great Bear River, which he ascended to Great Bear Lake, and the summer and autumn of that year (1900) were spent travelling around the shores of Great Bear Lake and thence across country to Great Slave Lake, from which place he made his way up Slave River to Lake Athabasca where he stayed until the river froze, and then he travelled on foot and with dogs to Edmonton.

Dr. Bell is still in the prime of life, and Canada may well be proud of having a man of his knowledge, ability, and courage to assist in developing its latent mineral resources.

J. B. TYRRELL

*Histoire de la Ville de Saint-Hyacinthe.* By C. P. CHOQUETTE. Saint-Hyacinthe, P.Q.: Richer et Fils. 1930. Pp. 550. (\$1.50)

*Mélanges Historiques.* By BENJAMIN SULTE. Volume XVIII: *Trois-Rivières d'Autrefois.* Première série. Compilées, annotées et publiées par GERARD MALCHELOSSE. Montréal: Editions Edouard Garand. 1931. Pp. 96.

*Histoire de la Seigneurie Massue et de la Paroisse de Saint-Aimé.* By OVIDE LAPALICE. N.p. 1930. Pp. 432.

We have here three excellent examples of the valuable work in the local history of French Canada which continues to increase year by year. Mgr Choquette who has acquired an enviable reputation as a scholar and a historian, published in 1914 his *Histoire du Séminaire de Saint-Hyacinthe* in two volumes and we are now indebted to him for this admirable *Histoire de la ville de Saint-Hyacinthe*. It is a work of more than local interest for it touches at many points on the history of the

province and the country and especially, of course, on the history of the valleys of the Yamaska and Richelieu. Mgr Choquette, for example, has narrated with an abundance of details the important events which took place in that region during the troubled days of 1831.

The foundation of Saint-Hyacinthe provides a topical story of great interest. Towards the end of the eighteenth century the sons of old French-Canadian families who had founded the beautiful parishes on the banks of the St. Lawrence and Richelieu were forced to look for a new field of action. The soil of the Yamaska valley produced wheat in abundance, and so we see a multitude of colonists leaving the old parishes to come into the neighbourhood of Saint-Hyacinthe where they opened new territory and extended the bounds of the French-Canadian inheritance. With Mgr Choquette there is interest in following the movement of colonization. Well-known names are recalled to us like those of Côté, Méhot, Dion or Dyon, Roy, Robichaud, Gendron, Gamache, Couillard; these are the names of the old families of Quebec, Montmagny, Islet, and Bellechasse. Other colonists came originally from Montreal, Sorel, and Saint-Ours. For the people of Saint-Hyacinthe the book will have a special charm for the author recalls many whose names are forgotten but who played a rôle more or less important in the history of the little town. We see faithfully drawn the scene in which these men, whether well known or of a station more modest, have lived their lives in the service of their town and of their fellow-citizens.

The author has, of course, not omitted the religious life of Saint-Hyacinthe. "La ville", he writes, "est assurément un centre religieux. Ces maisons, ces communautés ont contribué puissamment à son développement et au maintien de son importance." Mgr Choquette is to be congratulated on completing so useful and interesting a book. We are now promised a history of the seigniory of Saint-Hyacinthe and it is to be hoped that the history of French Canada may be still further enriched by the accomplishment of this plan.

M. Gérard Malchelosse, the indefatigable compiler of the writings of the late Benjamin Sulte now offers us the eighteenth volume of his valuable collection. For fifty-six years Sulte carried on his work and from his prolific pen came over three thousand articles in addition to his *Histoire des canadiens français*. In *Trois-Rivières d'autrefois* Sulte took his readers to a part of the country which he loved. We are told of the origins of the city, its first inhabitants, its town hall, fortifications, powder magazine, and old mill. We learn the names of the colonists who established themselves on the rue Notre Dame, the rue Saint-Pierre, the rue Royale. Special reference is made several times to the house of the Sulte family where Benjamin Sulte himself was born. Several plans and an appendix enrich and complete these historical data. We can well understand the affection with which Sulte wrote of his native town and the interest which he had in making its history more widely known.

The work of M. Lapalice is opportune for we already have historians of the seigniories of Saint-Ours and Sorel and of the parishes of the same names, so that this completes the volumes on the seigniories within the County of Richelieu, watered by the Richelieu and Yamaska Rivers. The seigniory obtained its name from Aimé Massue who brought together

the several fiefs of Bourchemin, Bonsecours, Saint-Charles, Bourgmarie-Est, and Bourgmarie-Ouest. The author here follows through with admirable clearness the changes of proprietorship from the origins of these fiefs until the 1830's when they were consolidated by Massue. More than any of the other seigniors, Massue worked at the colonization and development of his land.

M. Lapalice tells of the important events which have occurred since the beginning of the seigniories. He writes the history of colonization and of development; of the American invasion; of the formation of the parish of Saint-Aimé; of the origin of the village; and of the curés who have administered the parish since the days of the curé who founded it, M. Jean-Baptiste Dupuis. The history of the college and of the convent is not less instructive, and the author completes his work with a list of those from the parish of Saint-Aimé, who have consecrated themselves to the service of the church. "L'histoire d'une paroisse", writes M. Lapalice, "est une page de l'histoire du pays"—a remark admirably illustrated not only by his own but by the other volumes here reviewed.

A. COUILLARD DESPRÉS

*Ontario Historical Society: Papers and Records. Volume XXVII. Toronto: Published by the Society. 1931. Pp. 623. (\$2.00)*

I SHALL not, I hope, be thought to be indulging in mere politeness when I say that the Ontario Historical Society is to be congratulated on this volume. Not only are its six hundred-odd pages a most generous two-dollars-worth—a two-dollars-worth so generous that the society must lose money on every copy sold—but the volume is, in many respects, a model of what the publication of a local historical society should be. It is well printed and illustrated; the proof-reading has been carefully done; and the contents of the volume have been dictated by a sound line of policy.

Too often the publications of local historical societies, and even of the Ontario Historical Society in the past, have contained papers of a general nature embodying little research, or reminiscences of "old-timers", the reliability of which was dubious. In the present volume the policy has been followed of printing chiefly papers embodying original records. The first paper, "The Quinté Loyalists of 1784" by the late Dr. P. H. Bryce, is based on the muster rolls of the Loyalist regiments and on the land books of Quebec; the second paper, "The Rev. William Jenkins of Richmond Hill", by Mr. A. J. Clark, contains, printed *in extenso*, the marriage register of the Presbyterian church at Richmond Hill from 1819 to 1843; Brigadier-General Cruikshank, whose invaluable researches into the early history of the province have placed us under a debt which cannot be discharged, prints "The marriage register of St. Paul's church at Fort Erie from 1836 to 1844", and contributes a long paper on "The King's Royal Regiment of New York", which is actually nothing less than a series of documents from original sources strung together on a thread of narrative; Mr. John K. Elliott's "Crime and punishment in early Upper Canada" is a paper based on the journal of the court of quarter sessions for the district of London from 1800 to 1809; Mr. Hamnett P. Hill gives an account of the *Bytown Gazette*, a pioneer newspaper of the Ottawa valley, with quotations which make

it almost a calendar; the Rev. M. A. Garland prints another instalment of the papers of the Rev. William Proudfoot, previous instalments of which have appeared in the *Transactions* of the London and Middlesex Historical Society, and in the *Papers and records* of the Ontario Historical Society, and with Mr. J. J. Talman he contributes a paper on "Pioneer drinking habits to the rise of the temperance agitations in Upper Canada prior to 1840", the notes and bibliography appended to which reveal the research on which the paper is based; Professor E. W. Banting contributes, with the late Mr. A. F. Hunter (whose recent death is deplored by all members of the society of which he was for so long the secretary), "Charles Rankin's report of his exploration for the pioneer road from Garafraxa to Owen Sound in 1837"; and so one might go on. There is hardly a paper which does not embody new and valuable material relating to the history of Ontario. There is in fact in the volume an embarrassment of riches. It would add very much to the usefulness of the *Papers and records* of the society if each annual volume were provided with an index, or even if the society undertook the publication of an index for the first twenty-five or thirty volumes. Without such an index the wealth of material in the society's volumes must remain to some extent locked up and hidden from the investigator, except by the stroke of chance.

W. S. WALLACE

*Freighters of Fortune: The Story of the Great Lakes.* By NORMAN BEASLEY. New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1930. Pp. ix, 311.

COMPLEMENTARY to Mr. George A. Cuthbertson's *Freshwater*, although preceding it in date of publication, is the story of the Great Lakes unfolded in *Freighters of fortune*. Each of these works necessarily falls short of depicting the complete pageantry of the freshwater seas. Taken together they achieve a much greater measure of success than either does alone. They have more than accidental connection, for some of Mr. Cuthbertson's excellent illustrations are reproduced in Mr. Norman Beasley's story.

*Freighters of fortune* begins with the inevitable *Griffin* of La Salle, but specializes upon modern commercial development. There is page after page of quotation, and there are quantities of impressive statistics. These are relieved by episode and incident and biography. The author's use of language is strange. We are not accustomed to "slapping" sails, nor to sails being "lifted", nor to Brock being disguised as "Sir Isaac, lieutenant governor". The historical and literary standards are those of a "Big Business" magazine for "Big Business" men.

The book is not always accurate. A photograph of a schooner is given with the inscription ". . . on her way down with iron ore". The photograph shows a vessel with no cargo at all, but flying light, with a clean swept hold. The particular vessel was engaged in the grain and lumber trade. Elsewhere 1850 is mentioned as the date of a first and unsuccessful attempt to reach the Atlantic from the lakes, and 1859 is given as the date of the first ocean cargo from fresh water, and 1873 as the first cargo of grain from Chicago to Liverpool. This information contradicts records of others who have written of commerce on the

lakes. The schooner *New Brunswick* is said to have carried the first cargo of wheat, 18,000 bushels, from Chicago to Liverpool in 1847. The barquentine *Eureka* went from Cleveland on Lake Erie to California by way of Cape Horn in the gold rush of 1849. Before 1859 at least a score of barques, barquentines, and schooners had crossed the Atlantic with cargoes loaded on the Great Lakes. To worry this poor bone to the last morsel of marrow, the brigantine *Minnesota*, heroine of Mr. Beasley's 1850 date, could not have been sailing "up" the St. Lawrence with a cargo of copper from Georgian Bay to Swansea, Wales, as stated in the text. That voyage is down the river.

The only map in *Freighters of fortune* is a picturesque reproduction of a French publication of 1755. This forms the book's jacket. It folds over and becomes blank where the St. Lawrence begins. Good maps of the Great Lakes would be a godsend for anyone reading what has been written about these waters. They would make clear the noteworthy differences between the waterways in the Indian period, in the War of 1812, in the succeeding century of canal development, and in the present day. The writer of fiction may ignore geography, but the historian cannot cruise with Shakespeare on the seacoasts of Bohemia, or even venture, as does Mr. Beasley, among "the unchartered Thousand Islands", with no better aid to navigation than a dust-cover.

*Freighters of fortune* has the merit of treating commerce on the lakes as a living fact instead of a closed phase of history. It deals with known men, existing corporations, present conditions, modern events, and thereby makes a definite contribution. Furs, metal, and grain, and in a lesser degree coal, lumber, package freight, and passengers, characteristic traffic on the lakes, receive large attention; especially iron, which has a dozen chapters. Canadian commerce and Canadian developments do not receive the same treatment as those of the United States.

The book does tell of the fortunes made by freighting on the lakes. Its sub-title, "The story of the Great Lakes", promises more than it performs.

C. H. J. SNIDER

*The Economic Uses of International Rivers.* By HERBERT ARTHUR SMITH. London: P. S. King and Son, Ltd. 1931. Pp. ix, 224. (10s. 6d.)

THE development of new uses for water and the rapid increase of its consumption in recent years make the subject of this book one of importance—and for none more so than for Canadians who share with the United States jurisdiction over the St. Lawrence and other important streams. The book is an attempt to determine the lines along which international law should proceed in determining a body of principles which may be applied to the amazingly complex and varied problems arising in connection with the use of water in streams which are under the control of two or more governments. The discussion very properly deals, not only with disputes between different countries, but with cases which have arisen between states within the same union and cases between the federal and state, or provincial, governments in countries like the United States and Canada. The thesis of the author

is that "every river system is naturally an indivisible physical unit, and that as such it should be so developed as to render the greatest possible service to the whole community which it serves, whether or not that community is divided into two or more political jurisdictions". To argue on the basis of arbitrary principles, such as territorial sovereignty, "natural rights", or even the prior right of navigation in all cases, can, the author contends, result in nothing but confusion, misunderstanding, and dead-lock. His contention is illustrated and strengthened by concise examination of fourteen inter-state controversies with regard to rivers in various parts of the world. Chapters are also given to important judicial decisions, the function of international commissions, and the relation between navigation and other uses. Frequent references are made to Canadian problems. In connection with the discussion of the "Chicago diversion", the disregard of Canadian rights is strongly condemned. The full text of the Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909 is printed and the International Joint Commission is examined at some length as "by far the most important" of the international commissions concerned with the economic uses of rivers other than that of navigation. The limitation of the sphere of the commission in such a way as to exclude waters like Lake Michigan is criticized (pp. 126-7):

This is the weak point of the treaty, because it creates an artificial division which has no basis in natural fact. It ignores the fundamental fact that every river system is a single physical unit, where interferences with tributary waters may have consequences just as serious as interference with waters that flow along the boundary. The reasons for this arbitrary limitation of the Commission's powers were, as we now know, political. Senator Root has candidly pointed out that it was introduced with the object of removing the problem of the Chicago diversion from the operation of the treaty. It is extremely unfortunate that the most serious and important problem arising in the St. Lawrence basin should thus have been kept outside the jurisdiction of the Commission.

The book is an admirable summary of an important problem, and especially timely for Canadian readers in view of the prospective decision of the Canadian supreme court with respect to the rights of the Dominion and Quebec governments in the waters of the St. Lawrence.

GEORGE W. BROWN

*Birth Registration and Birth Statistics in Canada.* By ROBERT R. KUCZYNSKI. Washington: The Brookings Institution. 1930. Pp. xi, 219. (\$3.00)

THE vital statistics of Canada are of interest not only to social and economic historians of Canada, but also to students of the movement of population in general, both because of the lengthy period they cover and because of the changes in fecundity that they reflect. The province of Quebec possesses remarkably complete birth statistics covering a period of three centuries: the other provincial series do not extend so far back, and exhibit a variety of changing methods. Even though the admission of Quebec in 1926 brought all nine provinces into the registration area, there are still some differences between the provinces with regard to the collection of vital statistics. Mr. Kuczynski has sketched the history of legislation and administration in this field for each province, transcribed the official birth statistics of each province from their many sources for

the entire period they cover, and criticized with skill and judgment the figures quoted. His painstaking and well-documented work will be very helpful to the student who wishes to interpret Canadian vital statistics, while it will also be interesting to students of vital statistics in general.

The brief summary of results shows that the Catholic population of Quebec shares the tendency to diminishing fecundity observed in other countries: for its birth-rate after fluctuating between 45 and 62 per thousand in every decade from 1665 to 1880 and between 40 and 44 in every decade from 1881 to 1920, dropped to 39 for the period 1921-1925, and to 34 in 1926-1928. This decline in the crude birth-rate has occurred in the face of a substantial increase in the proportion of women of child-bearing age. The yearly number of births per 1,000 women of child-bearing age was about 350 in 1665-1667, while in 1926-1928 it had dropped to about 135. The average number of children per woman in Quebec towards the end of the seventeenth century, appears to have been ten or twelve: on the basis of 1928 fertility, it would be about four and a half.

For English-speaking Canada the statistics are not sufficiently complete to render such a comparison possible: birth-rates based upon the registered births are obviously too low. From 1920 on, however, registration everywhere had so much improved that some comparisons can be made at least with Quebec. In 1926-1928 the birth-rate in the English-speaking provinces did not exceed 24 per thousand of population or 95 per 1,000 women of child-bearing age as compared with 33 and 135 respectively for Quebec. The total number of children born to 1,000 women who lived through child-bearing age (at the fertility rates characteristic of the English-speaking provinces in 1926-1927) would be approximately 3,220, giving an average of 3.22 children per woman as compared with 4.65 in Quebec. Fertility is lowest in Ontario and the Maritime Provinces, where it approaches the present low level of western and northern Europe. In Ontario the birth-rate has fallen rather steadily from 25 per thousand in 1920 to 21.5 in 1930.

These figures give rise to some interesting speculations regarding the composition of the population of Canada in generations to come: but Mr. Kuczynski does not venture into this field of prophecy.

HUBERT R. KEMP

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*The Baronne de Pombcoup and the Acadians.* By H. LEANDER D'ENTREMONT. Yarmouth, N.S.: Herald-Telegram Press. 1931. Pp. 192. (\$1.00)

THE author of this small book hopes that through its sale and the interest it may create funds may be accumulated to build a fireproof museum and library of Acadian history. He has already erected a memorial tower at Centre East Pubnico and has collected books and manuscripts as the nucleus of an Acadian collection.

The first section of his book provides a summary history of the southernmost tip of Nova Scotia from the days of the Norsemen to the return of the Acadians in 1767. It is supported by part II, which consists of reprinted newspaper articles designed to amplify and carry on to a later date the earlier summary statements. Part III is a guide-

book to the region as it is at present. The historical portion of the book is a mosaic of particles from the author's manuscripts, from the printed sources of Acadian history and from local antiquarian and archaeological research. Not all of it would pass critical muster, some of it is unduly repetitive, and much of it is of local and genealogical interest only. Two features, however, commend it to historians. It prints carefully some useful unpublished documents, and it conveys in more intimate and convincing form than books of larger scope the qualities of patriotism and determination which either maintained the Acadians in, or restored them to, the land which they first occupied in the seventeenth century. These qualities gain in emphasis in this book because of the utter unreasonableness of expelling the peaceful Cape Sable group of Acadians in the years after 1755. It is pleasant to find it recorded that their long-established friendly relations with New Englanders softened for some of them their ten years of exile.

J. B. BREBNER

*Native Stock: The Rise of the American Spirit Seen in Six Lives.* By ARTHUR POUND. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1931. Pp. vii, 267. (\$3.00)

THIS work consists of a series of biographical sketches of the William Pepperrells, John Bradstreet, Ephraim Williams, Robert Rogers, James Clinton, and Elkanah Watson. The author, in his preface, refers to these men as illustrating the development of the American spirit during a period of a century and a half. With this view few readers will concern themselves. They will be interested mainly in the careers described. These are well written and give evidence of extensive consultation of authorities. Works of this character should be widely read, for they cannot fail to create an interest in the pioneer workers and fighters of America, and, thereby, may serve to develop a desire to pursue further investigations in the history of the eighteenth century. Canadian readers will, doubtless, be most familiar with the names of Sir William Pepperrell, John Bradstreet, and Robert Rogers. The second of these, John Bradstreet, is not known as it should be, and the author deserves credit for having written the best biographical account of him which has yet appeared. Bradstreet was one of the first colonials to devote himself continuously to the profession of arms, and this he did with marked success and distinction, attaining to the rank of a major-general. His early years were spent in Nova Scotia, and there is little doubt that he was born there; he married a descendant of La Tour, and thus he should be regarded with special interest in the Maritime Provinces.

J. C. WEBSTER

*A Memoir of Colonel the Honourable James Kerby, His Life in Letters.* By E. A. CRUIKSHANK. (Welland County Historical Society, *Papers and records*, volume IV.) Welland, Canada: Published by the Society. 1931. Pp. 349, [23].

THIS is the fourth volume of the *Papers and records* of the Welland Historical Society and it is a credit both to the author and to the society. Though James Kerby, the subject of the memoir, did not fill an important

place in Canadian history so that interest in him is necessarily local, nevertheless his life contains much of value concerning names and places connected with the early history of the Niagara district, and also throws some light on its military history. However, on incidents of more general historical interest with which Kerby was connected, such as the War of 1812 and the Rebellion of 1837, the information derived is disappointingly sparse. For instance, regarding the burning of the *Caroline* in 1837 where one would hope to find some fresh information, one finds only two scant references and a mistaken reference on page 242 as well as a misprint, of which—unfortunately—there are many throughout the volume.

The value of printing some of Kerby's letters at length might be questioned, especially some very dull ones dealing with a properly named "vexatious" lawsuit to which a whole chapter is given. The most interesting chapter, which throws light on the social life of the time, deals with James Kerby's far from dull experiences as a collector of customs. He was a faithful and, in the estimation of many of his fellow citizens, an over zealous public servant. His experiences suggest that the history of smuggling across our international boundary would make a very interesting and valuable study.

A. G. DORLAND

*Storied York, Toronto Old and New.* By BLODWEN DAVIES. Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1931. Pp. 127.

Books of the type of *Storied York* are welcome at any time but especially now when the citizens of Toronto, *née* York, are looking forward to a centenary celebration two years hence. The author with her accustomed skill has produced a most delightful and readable series of sketches dealing with the early days of the community. They abound in tradition and anecdote with some attempt at historical accuracy. Miss Davies's style is attractive and she has the pen of a ready writer. The book is well printed in handy form and the illustrations by Mr. Thoreau Macdonald are excellent.

If the title is to be taken literally, perhaps one should not be too critical of the many inaccuracies with which the work abounds. Careless proof-reading may account for some, lack of knowledge of the city's history for others, but many are unpardonable. Givens for Givins, Jamieson for Jameson, Beverly for Beverley, Gerard for Gerrard, MacCaul for McCaul, and Cavan for Caven are among the most glaring, together with St. George Street for George Street and York for Yorkville (p. 44). The market place was set aside by Lieutenant-Governor Hunter in 1803 not in 1814 (p. 110); St. James' Church was opened in 1807, not in 1803, the charter for King's College was granted in 1827 by King George IV, not by William IV; the Old Fort was rebuilt, not in 1806 but in 1816 *after* the War of 1812; Dr. Strachan did not become bishop until 1839; St. Paul's Church was built nearly thirty years *after* the War of 1812 (p. 71); Trinity College was opened in 1852 not in 1850; the Fort Rouillé monument was completed at the time of Queen Victoria's golden jubilee in 1887 (not the city's in 1884) and the memorial to the same sovereign in Queen's Park was erected to mark the celebration of her diamond jubilee in 1897.

These are but a few of the many regrettable inaccuracies and it is to be hoped that a careful revision will be made for future editions of an otherwise attractive little work.

T. A. REED

*The Overlanders of '62.* By MARK SWEETEN WADE. (Archives of British Columbia, memoir no. IX.) Victoria, B.C.: Printed by Charles F. Banfield. 1931. Pp. xiii, 174.

IN 1862 when Cariboo began to attract attention some people in eastern Canada resolved to essay the overland route to the great gold-fields. From various cities and towns they came; and, with accretions on the way, by the time Fort Garry was reached the number exceeded two hundred. There the different units were formed into two principal parties: the McMicking and the Redgrave. From Winnipeg to Edmonton the argonauts followed the regular route of the Hudson's Bay Company's brigades; but after passing Jasper House they were on comparatively new ground, for the traders had abandoned the Yellow-head route thirty years before. When they reached Tête Jaune Cache the adventurers divided; some heading for Kamloops by way of the North Thompson and others taking the Fraser River for Fort George and Alexandria. The latter built great rafts and, placing thereon all their goods, set forth boldly down the (to them) unknown river. It is doubtful if any page of pioneer history records a similar scene: brave men drifting down the river day and night successfully navigating those unwieldy contraptions through the cañons between Tête Jaune Cache and Alexandria.

The story of these adventurers has been frequently told in brief and in fragments, but this is the first attempt to treat it as a coherent whole. It is a very successful one. The late Dr. Wade wrote with charming simplicity and directness and with great lucidity. He kept the different strands of his story well in hand, and the reader easily follows under his guidance the somewhat tangled and intertwined movements. One cannot but wish that a map of the route had been included. The book is remarkably free from errors of any moment; and this is the more surprising when the great amount of detailed and biographical information in the appendix is taken into consideration. The note on Jasper House (p. 96) is wrong; that establishment was originally on the north end of Brûlé Lake, but in 1862 it was situate opposite the mouth of Rocky River. Another slight error occurs on page 118: the road from Yale and that from Lillooet did not join at Clinton until 1863. It is to be regretted that Dr. Wade did not insert a quotation from Sellar's journal showing that the guide informed them that the name of Mount Robson was "Snow or Cloud Cap Mountain"; for the date and origin of the present name is a matter much debated.

The book unfortunately contains no index—a great omission. Another regrettable oversight is the failure to indicate the places of deposit of the original journals upon which it is built and which are so extensively quoted. The volume has some twenty-two illustrations, mostly photographs of the "overlanders". It is produced in the usual fine style of the *Memoirs* of the department of archives of British Columbia.

F. W. HOWAY

*Iron with the Early Hawaiians.* By JOHN F. G. STOKES; *Japanese Account of the First Recorded Visit of Shipwrecked Japanese to Hawaii.* Translated by Y. SOGA; *Delano's Account of the Shipwrecked Japanese and Comments on the Japanese Narrative.* By HENRY B. RESTARICK (Papers of the Hawaiian Historical Society, number 18. Honolulu: The Printshop Company. 1931. Pp. 24).

THOUGH widely apart in title, there is a close unity in these three papers. The existence of iron articles in the Hawaiian Islands and on the northwest coast of America when Captain Cook arrived in 1778, and the natives' knowledge of the qualities and value of that mineral, render these short papers of interest to historical students who view the story of the Pacific basin as a whole.

Mr. Stokes ingeniously argues that the bits of iron seen by Captain Cook's men may have come from the wrecks of Japanese sampans brought by the ocean currents to the windward side of Hawaiian Islands. In his view the "hoop iron" fitted with a handle and the piece supposed to be "the point of a broad sword" mentioned in Cook's *Third voyage* (1784 edition, II, 240) were probably fragments of knives used by the Japanese fishermen. The other papers give colour to the suggestion. Every student of the Pacific has been attracted by the possibility that wreckage might be the source of iron supply in prehistoric days, and as a support has relied upon Amasa Delano's account of the eight Japanese who had been rescued by Captain Sowle and whom he found at Oahu in 1806, and took to China (Delano's *Voyages*, Boston, 1817, 400-401). The translation of the Japanese account is from a book *Tales of castaways to foreign lands*, published in Tokio in 1927. As Bishop Restarick well points out, it agrees remarkably with Delano's version and clearly refers to the same incident.

F. W. HOWAY

*A Union List of Manuscripts in Libraries of the Pacific Northwest.* Compiled by CHARLES W. SMITH. Seattle, Wash.: University of Washington Press. 1931. Pp. 57. (\$1.00)

THE increased interest in the story of the West and the growing realization of its essential unity renders timely any guide to the location of its "tap roots". This index is an effort in that direction. It must be remembered that this booklet deals only with manuscripts in libraries and not with materials in the archives. The manuscripts vary greatly in historic value: some are contemporary records; some, reminiscent; some are studies prepared for one purpose or another; and some are translations. Again, John McLoughlin's letter of October, 1845, Simon Fraser's journal of 1808, and many of John Work's journals have already been published, though no reference is made to that fact. Some of the manuscripts are copies, but very rarely is there any indication as to the place of deposit of the original.

The guide is most commendable as a pioneer effort in that line; but it is believed that when a second edition is offered it will be much improved. The items are now listed in alphabetical order. To this reviewer it is questionable how useful such an arrangement may prove to one unfamiliar with the subject. For example, the recently acquired letters of Donald Ross, all of which relate to the Hudson's Bay Company,

are indexed under thirty-five different names; the material on Vancouver, under five headings; and so with regard to the items on Cook and Bering. The difficulty might have been overcome by the free use of cross references; these, however, are very rare, and not one appears for any of the matter above mentioned.

F. W. HOWAY

*Lieutenant-General the Hon. Sir Sam Hughes, K.C.B., M.P., Canada's War Minister, 1911-1916.* By Brigadier-General CHARLES F. WINTER. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1931. Pp. xvii, 182. (\$2.25)

In this book Brigadier-General Winter has given us not a biography nor a study but a volume of personal recollections concerning the late war minister. As military secretary at headquarters in Ottawa from 1911 to 1916, the author came into a close relationship with Sir Sam that was "at all times cordial and intimate"; and hence he is well qualified to speak of the vigorous minister whom he admired. The picture of Sir Sam that emerges is consistent and attractive. Here we have an imperialist who ordered the Union Jack down from headquarters when Britain hesitated to declare war, yet a good Canadian who insisted on the formation of Canadian divisions and who hotly declared Canadian independence in the matter of shell-making in the face of representatives from the United States Steel Corporation; a man of boundless energy and driving force, a man who required much of his subordinates but who earned their respect, a man who loved a joke and who even in his final illness showed by jests his indomitable spirit. Perhaps unconsciously, General Winter drops hints of the other aspects of Sir Sam's character, the overwhelming impulse to show everybody how to do everything, the lack of imagination in dealing with men other than intimates which earned for Sir Sam the dislike of many who had only occasional contact with him. In such a volume it is useless to look for light on the breach between Sir Sam and his colleagues or on other political obscurities of the time. Nevertheless the book is full of anecdotes interesting in themselves and for their illustration of Sir Sam's character. Canadians owe a debt to General Winter for this record of his association with the capable minister who organized Canada's greatest military effort.

W. B. KERR

*Sir Augustus Nanton: A Biography.* By R. G. MACBETH. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1931. Pp. ix, 130. (\$2.50) Not the least interesting feature of this biography are the extracts from the personal letter book in which young Augustus Meredith Nanton, by the old method of dampening and the letter press, made copies of the letters which he wrote in the years immediately after his arrival in Winnipeg. Winnipeg was then a muddy frontier town suffering a profound depression after the collapse in 1881 of the real estate boom which had extended to Prince Albert, Edmonton, and even to Port Moody, running a course of sixteen months of wild gambling. Sir Augustus was born in Toronto in 1860, a grandson of Sheriff William Botsford Jarvis, and he began his career in business as a boy of thirteen in the

brokerage office of the firm of Pelatt and Osler, in Toronto. In less than ten years he had advanced to be secretary of the North of Scotland Canadian Mortgage Company. In 1883 he was sent to Winnipeg by the firm of Osler and Hammond to investigate and report upon the conditions and the prospects in the West, and in the following year, when he was a young man of twenty-four, he established the Winnipeg office of the firm of Osler, Hammond and Nanton. He made his home in Winnipeg until 1924, when he became president of the Dominion Bank and moved to Toronto, where his death in the following year closed a conspicuously successful career, in which the steady enlargement of his interests and responsibilities in business was accompanied by constant evidence of his increasing sense of his duties and obligations as a citizen. In 1914 he became chairman of the Canadian committee of the Hudson's Bay Company and a member of the London board of the company, and in the same year a member of the board of directors of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, and a few years later a member of the executive committee of that board. Before his departure from Winnipeg he was a director in more than thirty organizations. The life and career of a man so eminently successful in business, with an honourable record of public service in many capacities, well deserved to be recorded. The Rev. Dr. MacBeth has brought to his task an enthusiastic admiration of Sir Augustus Nanton for his integrity, his personal and civic virtues, and his great ability in business. The book has a foreword by Mr. E. H. Beatty, president of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, and contains many interesting illustrations.

W. J. HEALY

*By the Waters of Babylon.* By [LAWRENCE LYON]. London: Hutchinson & Co. [1930.] Pp. 280.

MR. LAWRENCE LYON, author of *The pomp of power* and *Where freedom falters*, has sought a semi-anonymity for this volume of recollections, but no inquisitive reader need go far in its pages before coming upon clues which reveal the authorship. It is the record of the exceedingly varied life of a man who is, or should be, still well away from the evening of his days. The earlier portion of the book has much local interest with its recollections of Trinity College School (where he was known as "Shadow" Lyon because of his youth and small stature), of Toronto courts and law offices, and of the editorial rooms of the *Globe* where he was a fellow cub reporter with Mackenzie King and M. O. Hammond and served under the editorial supervision of John S. Willison and F. A. Acland. In 1897 young Lyon accompanied his grandfather, Sir Henry Strong, chief justice of Canada, on a trip to England and travelled on the same ship that carried Sir Wilfrid Laurier to the queen's jubilee. This was the beginning of the wider and more cosmopolitan existence that has since been his lot and the reader will marvel at the numerous acquaintances with leading men of both England and France that came in succeeding years. During the War more particularly, the author was drawn into interesting phases of international politics which he describes in this volume. Parliamentary life added to such opportunities, as, for example, when in 1918 he was asked by Lloyd George to ascertain privately the views of the French foreign office upon the

proposal for a general election in Britain. The volume as a whole is exceedingly readable and not without considerable value for its sidelights upon British politics of the last quarter of a century.

FRED LANDON

*Open House.* Edited by WILLIAM ARTHUR DEACON and WILFRED REEVES. Ottawa: Graphic Publishers. 1931. Pp. 319. (\$3.00) ACCORDING to the advertisement on its slip-cover, *Open house* is "an experiment in free speech". There are hints of "startling facts" and of advanced views unacceptable to conservative newspapers and magazines. I am bound to say that, though I read it hopefully through to the end on page 319, I was not even mildly shocked. The twenty-two articles that make up the book cover a wide range of subjects and are of very unequal merit. Only a few of them would naturally come under review in the columns of this journal. Those that do are not among the best. "Debunking imperialism", for instance, however much one may agree with its general outlook, is marred by sweeping generalizations such as this on page 177: "In every treaty negotiated by British diplomats for Canada, Canadian territory was ruthlessly sacrificed on the altar of Anglo-United States relations." Yet the book can hardly be ignored by historical reviews, for it is a notable sign of the times in that quite half the articles voice the newer sense of Canadian nationalism. Mr. Wilson MacDonald's contribution on *The stigma of colonialism*, whether or not one agrees with all its judgments, is unquestionably a vigorous and effective bit of writing.

J. F. MACDONALD

*The Canadian Sales Tax.* By T. M. GORDON. (McGill University economic studies, no. 11, *National problems of Canada*.) Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1930. Pp. 62.

MR. GORDON's book is an interesting historical and descriptive approach to the study of the sales tax in Canada. It contains a clear description of the manner in which the tax is imposed and collected, and a rather detailed summary of the various changes through which the tax passed before attaining its present form.

However, when Mr. Gordon comes to the real problem, the incidence and indirect effects of the tax, his conclusions leave something more to be said. He argues that the imposition of the tax will cause consumption to fall off owing to the higher price, and some of the population's resources will be diverted to the purchase of untaxed commodities; net result—the price-level will rise by the full amount of the tax, except in the cases of increasing and decreasing returns, and the whole tax will be borne by the consumer. That is all. And the tax recommends itself because it will raise so large a sum of money without anyone noticing it. It is so simple that one wonders why other governments have not resorted to it more freely! But of course there is more to it than that. Mr. Gordon writes as if the government threw the money into the sea: as if it did anything but spend it. The sales tax is, however, only a transference of some of the resources of the people to the things on which the government spends its money. This transference will not be effected without

friction: we cannot so quickly beat our steel-drivers into schoolmasters; and such a change of demand will, therefore, result in some temporary unemployment. In so far as the marginal return to investment on steel was lower than that on schoolmasters—or whatever else the government chooses to spend the money on—the transference of resources would maximise the national income. But where resources are transferred to less advantageous industries, or to untaxed commodities, the previous equality of marginal returns—which we may presume—will be upset, and the national income not maximised. Finally, Mr. Gordon suggests that the sales tax, where it falls on monopoly, will not cause the price to rise, “since the monopolist already fixes the price at the most advantageous point to himself.” Here he seems to confuse a tax on profits, which the monopolist cannot shift, with a tax per unit sold (the present case) which the monopolist can shift by reducing his output and raising the price. Which latter he will do, since no modern monopolist dare fix his price anywhere near the point of maximum monopoly revenue for fear of potential competition, substitutes, or governmental interference. The monopolist will, therefore, hail the sales tax as an excuse for raising his price by at least the full amount of the tax. The whole problem is difficult, and we wish Mr. Gordon had given rather more space in his useful little book to the question of incidence and final effects.

J. J. DARLING

*The Future of Empire and the World Price of Peace.* By WILLIAM HARBUTT DAWSON. London: Williams and Norgate Ltd. 1930. Pp. 285. (12/6)

*Economic Aspects of Sovereignty.* By R. G. HAWTREY. London, New York and Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co. 1930. Pp. 162. (\$2.75)

THESE volumes offer an interesting contrast. Mr. Hawtrey has republished lectures delivered at the Lowell Institute in 1929. They are an able and dispassionate analysis of the manner in which the economic power of the modern state operates, when unchecked, to increase international anarchy. The writer sees some signs of hope in the mandate system and the more enlightened attitude of the imperialist powers: we need “such a transnational pursuit of welfare . . . as a foundation for any plan for eliminating economic conflicts.” Mr. Dawson, a veteran publicist on German affairs, views with anger and alarm the present outlook, especially emphasizing the harsh treatment Germany has received and its possible consequences. Almost all his rambling and disjointed book was written before May, 1929, and some of it reads rather oddly to-day. He is convinced that Britain should take the lead in restoring to Germany some of her former colonies, failing which “in spite of our peace pact and arbitration machinery, the question will eventually become one of war.” He proposes that the League of Nations should fall heir to “a great international trust or pool” of the British, French, German, Belgian, Spanish (!), Portuguese, Danish, and American colonies which should be redistributed on the mandatory principle among those powers willing to treat them as sacred trusts. Mr. Dawson thinks the dominions could help the peace of the world by “tempering and restraining the chauvinism and never sated imperialism”

in some British circles, by urging Britain to limit her liabilities, and by opening their gates wider for the surplus European peoples. Obviously this book will not add to his reputation.

F. H. SOWARD

*The Manufacturing Industries of the British Empire Overseas.* Part I—*Canada*; part II—*Australia*; part III—*The Union of South Africa*; part IV—*New Zealand*; part V—*Newfoundland and the Crown Colonies and Protectorates*. By HAROLD N. CARVALHO. London: Erlanglers, Ltd. 1930. Pp. 45; 43; 76; 48. (2s. 6d. each).

THIS is a series of statistical monographs brought out during the past year (already two of the parts are in second editions) on the manufactures of the British Empire outside the United Kingdom. The main objective is to supply the British manufacturer with a purview of the competition he has to meet in the general struggle for exports in the overseas parts of the Empire. The historical treatment throughout is accordingly of the briefest. Prefaced to each part is a general discussion of the economic situation, following which a series of graphs and tables sets out the details. The graphs are particularly excellent. There is also an index to each volume which should prove of practical value to those for whom the publications are designed.

For the general reader the series throws into easily-grasped form the broad features of industrial production in each of the dominions and crown colonies. There is, however, no attempt at more than general similarity of treatment in the several parts; the author takes the official statistics as he finds them—and the latter often differ widely in their scope and arrangement as between dominions. Thus no contribution is made to comprehensive economic analysis of the Empire's industrial resources; as already stated, the volumes are primarily for the British industrialist. In the introduction to part I (Canada), exception may be taken to the view that the establishment of American branch plants in Canada "enables American industry to dominate the Canadian import trade". These branches account for certain imports of raw materials and "parts", but the main streams of Canadian imports lie outside such influence.

R. H. COATS

*The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs, 1930-31.* Founded by J. CASTELL HOPKINS. Toronto: The Canadian Review Company, Limited. 1931. Pp. 797. (\$8.00)

IT is a matter of congratulation that the *Canadian annual review* has reached its thirtieth year of issue, and is increasing in usefulness and dependability as it grows older. Within its sphere, it now compares favourably with the long-established English *Annual register*; and indeed in some aspects it is distinctly superior to that publication. The student of current affairs in Canada could less well afford to dispense with the *Canadian annual review* than the student of current affairs in England could afford to dispense with the *Annual register*.

The present volume follows closely the lines laid down by its predecessors. It has sections dealing with Dominion affairs, the affairs of each of the provinces, imperial relations, international relations, statistics,

transportation and communication, labour conditions, industry and commerce, scientific and industrial research, finance and insurance, immigration and colonization, the churches, literature, various organizations, and the usual obituary list, as well as the valuable reprints of presidential addresses and annual reports contained in its "Financial and industrial supplement". To all this material an excellent key is provided in the indexes, which have been very carefully compiled.

While most of the volume has been prepared by the editorial staff of the *Review*, special sections have been contributed by outside authorities. There is, for example, an excellent summary of the history of Canada's international relations during the year by Mr. Hector Charlesworth, the editor of *Saturday Night*; and Mr. W. A. Craick contributes most exhaustive surveys of transportation and communication, industries and commerce, and scientific and industrial research. We may perhaps be forgiven, however, if we single out for especial praise the list of Canadian books of 1930 compiled by Dr. George H. Locke and the staff of the Toronto Public Library. Not only are particulars now included with regard to pagination and format, which have hitherto been lacking; but the full names of authors are given, with the date of birth where available—details of the greatest value to those who handle and catalogue books. One needs only to compare the admirable book-list contained in this volume with the very inadequate lists published in the early volumes of the *Review* to realize the remarkable advance made by bibliography in Canada during the last quarter of a century.

W. S. WALLACE

*Statistical Year-Book of the League of Nations, 1930-1931.* Geneva: The League of Nations. 1931. Pp. 292.

THIS volume, which is a continuation of the *International statistical year-book, 1929*, has been considerably expanded as compared with last year's edition. It now contains 121 different tables, which deal with territory and population, unemployment and industrial disputes, production, consumption, and stock-breeding, commerce and transport, public finance, currency statistics, and prices, in all the principal countries. Particularly interesting at the present time are new tables showing unemployment and labour disputes, bond yields and stock prices, and discount rates. The majority of the tables cover the year 1930, and most of the agricultural tables show the harvest of 1930-1931. While the task of obtaining entirely comparable statistics from so many different sources is still beyond human power, this year-book is an indispensable tool for the economist and it is increasing in value.

HUBERT R. KEMP

## NOTES AND COMMENTS

The death occurred at Ottawa on January 28 last of William Smith, B.A., I.S.O., deputy keeper of public records, in his seventy-third year. Mr. Smith was born at Hamilton, Ontario, and graduated from the University of Toronto with honours in modern languages. He entered the postal service in Hamilton and in 1886 was transferred to the post office department at Ottawa. In 1901 he was commissioned to reorganize the postal system of Newfoundland, and there made the acquaintance of Señor Marconi who was then conducting experiments in trans-Atlantic wireless communication, a connection which resulted ultimately in the establishment of the wireless station at Glace Bay. In 1913 he was appointed to the staff of the Public Archives.

To the discharge of his new duties he brought a love for learning and a discriminating enthusiasm in its pursuit. His researches in the preparation of *The history of the post office in Canada* had already made him familiar with many of the Canadian public records. At the Archives he became an invaluable assistant to Dr. Doughty. The wide range of his knowledge made him most useful in answering the many and varied inquiries sent to the Archives. Students of Canadian history have been placed permanently in his debt by reason of the calendars of public records, such as the *Durham papers* and the *G series*, prepared by him and published with the reports of the archivist, and of *Political leaders of Upper Canada* published shortly before his death. More particularly, however, will his memory be preserved with gratitude and affection by those who pursued historical investigations at the Public Archives, whose ways were made easier by his sympathetic interest, by his ripe wisdom and scholarly knowledge, and by his unfailing patience and courtesy. In the death, during the period of a single year, of Adam Shortt and of William Smith the Canadian Archives has suffered irreparable loss. (D. McA.)

The following extract from the journal of Daniel Claus in 1770 printed in *The papers of Sir William Johnson* (Albany, 1931), VII, 953, definitely establishes the date of James Finlay's visit to the North-west as 1768-9. He was the first English trader in that region after the conquest. Claus writes at Montreal (Sept. 21, 1770): "Saw Mr. Js Finley who last Year [1769] was so great a Distance to the Westward vizt. Ft. prairie where he was met by five of the Hudson Bay Compys. Servants who were collecting the Indns. withn. 2 or 300 Leagues of the Bay Christine & Assinibol Nats. to come to trade wth. the Compy. he says there assembled within 2 or 3 days abt. 350 Canoes at his Fort he could compare them to nothing better that a parcell of Cattle being driven to Market people in their primitive Innocence without any harm & undebauched by Liquor; & altho they by permission of sd Drovers traded [ ] for a few things he made 80 packs of [very] valuable Furr during their Stay. We [could] carry nothing but a few Medicines & kn[ ] bleed; all the hudson bay Trade being [ ] the Forts thro' Grates, they havg. not the Convenience of large Birch Canoes, notwithstanding.

this the Company has such an immense Trade that [very] often great Quantities of Peltrey is burnd to keep up the price. Mr. Finley lay upon a River falling into Hds. [Bay] abt. 200 Leagues from it. These Runners carry printed prohibitions directed to any of the Canada Traders not to encroach upon the Comps. District by severe penalties. Mr. Finley carried his Furrs to England last Fall [1769], says he was questioned by Ld. Hillsbh. abt. that Country, but as he was an illitterate person entirely unacquainted wth. Geography or perhaps the common points of ye Compass could give but little light to his Lordship of ye Country he was in." (H.A.I.)

The following have kindly consented to have their names included on the board of editors of the REVIEW for 1932-3: Professor E. R. Adair of McGill University; The Hon. Thomas Chapais, The Senate, Ottawa; Professor A. G. Dorland of the University of Western Ontario; Louis Blake Duff, Esq., Welland, Ontario; Dr. James F. Kenney, The Public Archives of Canada; Professor M. H. Long of the University of Alberta; Professor T. F. McIlwraith of the University of Toronto; and Professor W. N. Sage of the University of British Columbia. The REVIEW wishes to express its appreciation to those who have retired after two years' connection with the board. They have given valuable assistance in a variety of ways.

It is a matter of general regret to everyone interested in Canadian history that the Bibliothèque St. Sulpice in Montreal was closed several months ago due to lack of funds necessary to carry on its work. It is to be sincerely hoped that the suspension of activity may be a temporary one. Under the able direction of Mr. Ægidius Fauteux there was built up in the library one of the finest collections of historical materials to be found in the Dominion and through the support of the Sulpician Order it was made freely available to students. The permanent closing of the library would be a great loss to Canadian scholarship.

In the first article in this issue, Professor Chester Martin, of the University of Toronto, has drawn attention to an aspect of the movement for Confederation which has hitherto escaped careful examination. The paper was read at the recent meeting of the American Historical Association in Minneapolis. The interesting analysis of the attitude of Nova Scotian merchants towards the American Revolution is by Professor W. B. Kerr of the University of Buffalo. In his short bibliographical article Mr. W. S. Wallace, librarian of the University of Toronto, brings to light new information regarding the literature of the Selkirk controversy. The document by Gibbon Wakefield has been contributed by Professor A. R. M. Lower of Wesley College, Winnipeg.

#### LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

*Algonguin Historical Society of Canada.* Secretary, Rev. Hugh Cowan, 209 Quebec Avenue, Toronto, Ont.

*Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba.* The new society, which was revived in 1913, has published five of its papers, the last of which was *Early Assiniboine trading posts of the Souris-Mouth Group* by D. A. Stewart, in 1930.

*Historical Association of Annapolis Royal.* President, L. M. Fortier; secretary, Miss H. L. Hardy, Annapolis Royal, N.S.

*Ontario Historical Society.* The society intends to undertake the publication of the Russell papers, which have been collected and edited by Brigadier-General Cruikshank and Mr. A. F. Hunter. These will deal with the period during which the Honourable Peter Russell administered the affairs of Upper Canada. The papers will be issued in three volumes, the first of which is expected to be printed this year.

*Prince Edward Historical Society.* The society has an historical scrapbook of local history composed of clippings from local newspapers. The secretary, Fred Newman, Picton, Ontario, will be pleased to receive any newspaper clippings on the history of Prince Edward County.

*Royal Society of Canada.* Ten annual fellowships, each of the value of \$1,500, to be known as the Royal Society of Canada Fellowships, have been endowed for a period of five years through the generosity of the Carnegie Corporation. These fellowships are designed to enable Canadian students to carry on research work. Further information may be obtained by writing to the secretary, Royal Society of Canada Fellowships Fund, Ottawa, Ont. Next year the Royal Society celebrates its fiftieth anniversary and a special programme will be arranged. The Tyrrell medal for 1931 was awarded to M. Pierre Georges Roy, the provincial archivist of Quebec.

*Société d'Economie Sociale et Politique de Québec.* This society ceased its activities several years ago.

*Société Historique de Saint-Boniface.* In *La Liberté* (Winnipeg) for Wednesday, November 25, 1931, there was printed an article by Denys Lamy on "La Société de Saint Boniface", which tells of the work of the society during the past thirty years. Secretary, Denys Lamy, Archbishop's Palace, St. Boniface, Man.

*Société Historique et Littéraire Acadienne.* The purpose of the society is to encourage the study of Acadian and Canadian history; to protect the French language among the French Acadian people; and to organize an Acadian library and museum. President, Rev. Père Omer Legresley; secretary Abbé A. Allard, East Bathurst, N.B.

*Stratford and Perth County Historical Society.* The society has a membership of 75.

*Women's Canadian Historical Society of Sarnia.* The museum of the society is growing slowly. The society has a membership of 21. President Mrs. T. W. Nesbit.

*Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto.* The society has 121 members. Under the auspices of the society an historical loan exhibition was arranged in February, 1932, at the Ridpath Galleries in Toronto. An extremely interesting collection of historical relics was exhibited, most of which related to the early history of the City of Toronto and of the Province of Ontario.

## RECENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA

(*Notice in this section does not preclude a later and more extended review.*)

### I. THE RELATIONS OF CANADA WITHIN THE EMPIRE

AMERY, L. S. *Ce qu'on entend par "libre-échange impérial"* (Revue économique internationale, mars, 1931). An explanation of imperial free trade.

BASTIDE, CH. *La Conférence Impériale de 1930* (Outre-Mer, III (2), June, 1931, pp. 129-136). Notes on the last Imperial Conference.

BEAUCHESNE, ARTHUR. *La Grande-Bretagne et ses dominions* (Mémoires de la Société Royale du Canada, section I, troisième série, XXV, 1931, pp. 101-113). A clear-cut outline of the constitutions of the five dominions of the British Commonwealth.

BORNIER, J. M. de. *La Conférence Impériale de 1930* (Revue des sciences politiques, janvier-mars, 1931). Views on the last Imperial Conference.

BRUCE, S. M. *The Empire's opportunity* (United Empire, XXIII (1), January, 1932, pp. 18-22). Remarks on inter-imperial co-operation in trade from an Australian point of view.

BUFFINTON, ARTHUR HOWLAND (ed.). *Report of the Round tables and general conferences at the eleventh session*. Williamstown, Mass.: Institute of Politics. 1931. Pp. 263. The Williamstown Institute of Politics at its 1931 conference discussed in detail, among other matters, the future of the British Commonwealth.

CHEVALLIER, J. J. *Avant la Conférence Impériale de 1930* (Revue de droit international, janvier-mars, 1931, pp. 117-252). A study of legal, economic, and political relations within the British Empire after the War.

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*L'Empire Britannique à la croisée des chemins (1919-1921)* (Revue de droit international, octobre-décembre, 1930). A discussion of the Empire during the years 1919-1921.

*Empire Economic Union: Preliminary general report of the research committee*. London: Simpkin Marshall Company. 1930. Pp. 52. A preliminary report on the economic system of the Empire.

FAY, C. R. *South America and imperial problems* (University of Toronto quarterly, I (2), January, 1932, pp. 183-196). Professor Fay points out that the success of future economic conferences depends largely on the regard for the historical rôle of each part of the Empire in the field of international trade.

FIDEL, CAMILLE. *L'Empire Britannique après la Conférence Impériale de 1930* (Revue des questions coloniales et maritimes, mars-avril, 1931, pp. 32-39). A paper dealing with the results of the last Imperial Conference.

GOARD, WILLIAM PASCOE. *The Empire in solution with chapters on Anglo-Saxon civilization: Russia; and Palestine, and who should possess it*. London: The Covenant Publishing Company. 1931. Pp. 181. (3/6) This book, written by a Zionist, first appeared as a series of articles in *The national message*.

GRIGG, Sir EDWARD. *Some suggestions for an Empire economic policy* (United Empire, XXIII (1), January, 1932, pp. 27-40). An address dealing mainly with trade and migration and containing a few practical suggestions for an imperial economic policy.

HADFIELD, Sir ROBERT. *The economic development of Empire* (Dalhousie review, XI (4), January, 1932, pp. 425-432). Recommendations for an enlightened, systematic programme of intensive imperial development.

WEBB, RICHARD. *The Statute of Westminster* (Nineteenth century, CXI (659), January, 1932, pp. 61-72). A brief review of the motives and successive stages of the development of "Dominion status" in the dominions, and an examination of the enactments and implications of the Statute of Westminster.

JENNINGS, W. IVOR. *La Conférence Impériale de 1930* (Revue de droit international et de législation comparée, 1931, no. 2, pp. 181-219). A summary of the Conference.

LOVERDE, GIUSEPPE. *La forma costituzionale dell' impero britannico* (Rivisti di diritto pubblico e della amministrazione in Italia, XXIII (5), May, 1931, pp. 256-269). A survey of the constitutional form of the British Empire.

MACDONALD, MALCOLM. *The Imperial Conference, 1930* (Labour magazine, IX (8), December, 1930, pp. 339-343). A summary of the decisions arrived at and the progress made at the last Imperial Conference.

MOORES, GEORGE. *The British Empire in 1950: A peep into the future*. With an introduction by Sir GILBERT C. VYLE. London: John Heywood. 1931. Pp. 95. (2s. 6d.) An attempt to forecast the future of the British Empire in the light of experiences of the past. Opinions are expressed on state insurance, tariffs, an Empire industrial parliament, national debt extinction, and imperial free trade.

MOREL. *Les forces militaires de l'Empire britannique* (Revue militaire française, juin, 1931, pp. 413-443). A military study.

MORGAN, J. H. *The Statute of Westminster* (United Empire, XXII (12), December, 1931, pp. 653-664). A somewhat superficial, narrow, and apparently uninformed criticism of the Statute of Westminster.

PHILLIPS, G. GODFREY. *The dominions and the United Kingdom* (Cambridge law journal, IV (2), 1931, pp. 164-173). Some problems in the relationship between the dominions, the crown, and the imperial parliament.

POLLET, E. *La Conférence Impériale Britannique* (Revue économique internationale, mars, 1931). Notes on the Imperial Conference of 1930.

RATHBONE, H. *British imperialism at bay* (Labour magazine, October, 1931, pp. 629-635). A discussion of the present imperial economic crisis.

*The Statute of Westminster* (Canadian bar review, X (1), January, 1932, pp. 44-47). The Statute is herein printed in full.

TRYON, GEORGE C. *A short history of imperial preference*. London: Philip Allan. 1931. Pp. 96. (2s. 6d.) A handbook containing in concise form the origins of the idea of imperial preference, its growth in England and the dominions, and the discussions upon it by the British cabinet and the premiers of the dominions, which led up to the Imperial Conference of 1930.

VALENZIANI, CARLO. *L'impero britannico e le sue attuali tendenze* (Rivista di politica economica, XX (9-10), September-October, 1930, pp. 757-766). A memorandum on present tendencies of the British Empire.

WILSON, P. W. *Britain's imperial destiny* (Current history, December, 1931, pp. 325-330). A diagnosis of the position of Empire in the light of history and of the present economic crisis.

## II. HISTORY OF CANADA

### (1) General History

ANDREWS, C. L. *The story of Alaska*. Seattle: Lowman and Hanford Company. 1931. Pp. 258. (\$3.50) A history of Alaska from 1728 to the present time.

BREBNER, J. BARTLETT. *Canadian and North American history* (Report of the annual meeting of the Canadian Historical Association, 1931, pp. 37-48). A paper which applies North American, *i.e.*, continental, contours to the histories of Canada and the United States. Mr. Brebner divides his subject into three sections: (1) the instances where the continental interpretation seems generally valid; (2) the occasions of divergence and difference; (3) the revelations of the interdependence of the two economies.

[Canada, National Parks Branch, Department of the Interior.] *Some historic and prehistoric sites in Canada* (Report of the Canadian Historical Association, 1931, pp. 97-103). A summary of the work accomplished in marking historic sites by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada in the last year.

COLE, CHARLES WOOLSEY. *French mercantilist doctrines before Colbert*. New York: Richard R. Smith, Inc. 1931. Pp. xiv, 243. (\$2.50) This volume includes a survey of the early growth of mercantilism, of its elaboration in the works of Laffemas Montchretien, and of its general development in legislation at that period. The author concludes that mercantilism was the forerunner of nationalism in France. (H. A. INNIS)

CULKIN, WILLIAM E. *North shore place names*. St. Paul: Scott-Mitchell Publishing Company. 1931. Pp. xi, 93. (75 cents) An interpretation of place names on Lake Superior along the shore of Minnesota. The book contains some interesting odds and ends in the history of Lake Superior.

DEACON, WILLIAM ARTHUR and REEVES, WILFRED (eds.). *Open house*. Ottawa: Graphic Publishers. 1931. Pp. 319. (\$3.00) Reviewed on page 85.

GARLAND, M. A. (ed.). *From Upper Canada to New York in 1835: Extracts from the diary of the Rev. William Proudfoot* (Mississippi Valley historical review, XVIII (3), December, 1931, pp. 378-396). A reprint of Proudfoot's diary during a visit to the United States in 1835. His comments on scenery, on manners and customs, and on political and religious topics, are of great interest.

INNIS, H. A. *The rise and fall of the Spanish fishery in Newfoundland* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, section 2, series 3, XXV, May, 1931, pp. 51-70) Further light on the history of the Spanish fishery especially in the sixteenth century and in relation to the fisheries and economic development of other countries. The paper is based largely on papers from the Coleccion Vargas Ponce which are concerned mostly with the fishery of San Sebastian and the Province of Guipuzcoa.

MERRILL, WILLIAM STETSON. *The Norse voyages to America* (Mid-America, XIV, n.s. III (3), January, 1932, pp. 207-227). A bird's-eye view of the original sources of the Vinland voyages and a survey of research and historical opinion regarding them.

MUNN, W. A. *Wineland voyages*. St. Johns. 1931. A pamphlet which advances the theory that Helluland and Markland were on the Labrador coast and that Vinland was on the shores of Pistolet Bay, in the northern part of Newfoundland.

LEBOURDAIS, D. M. *Northward on the new frontier*. Ottawa: Graphic Publishers. 1931. Pp. 312. (\$3.50) This book has nothing to do with Canadian territory. The author, a French-Canadian journalist living apparently in the United States, undertook a commission from Mr. Stefansson, which was no less than to go to Wrangel Island in the Arctic Ocean, north of Siberia, and to annex it to the United States. When Captain Bartlett's ship *Karluk* sank in the Arctic Ocean in January, 1914, most of the members of the expedition on board made their way over the ice to Wrangel Island and spent the next six months there. In 1921 a party of four young men with an Eskimo woman landed on the island and claimed it for Canada. This ill-fated expedition succumbed to starvation and in 1923 when a rescue ship arrived, the only survivor was the Eskimo woman. Since that date the national status of the island had been uncertain. Mr. LeBourdais failed to carry out his intention, for although the ship in which he sailed from Nome came in sight of Wrangel Island, storms and ice prevented a landing. Most of the book is taken up with descriptions of life in Alaska, and is interesting and well written. (H. H. LANGTON)

**OSBORN, HENRY FAIRFIELD.** *Cope: Master naturalist. The life and letters of Edward Drinker Cope with a bibliography of his writings classified by subject. A study of the pioneer and foundation periods of vertebrate palaeontology in America.* With the co-operation of HELEN ANN WARREN and others. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. 1931. Pp. 740. (\$5.00) This is the interesting biography of one of the greatest productive naturalists of America. Cope entered Canada as a visitor and joined the Canadian Geological Survey in 1885, for which he worked until his death in 1897. His reports and discoveries, including descriptions of new species are numerous and important. Cope's scientific work in Canada was mostly done in the districts of Alberta and Assiniboia in the North-west Territory. His memoirs are important for systematic palaeontology and for Canadian geology. His letters contain his impressions of Canada, the country, the geology, and the people. (WILLIAM HARPER DAVIS)

**RICHARDSON, LYON N.** *A history of early American magazines, 1741-1789.* New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons. 1931. Pp. xi, 414. (\$5.00) A very thorough work with bibliography giving present location of files of the magazines. Much detailed information is given as to the contents of the magazines and there are a number of references to Canada especially during the Seven Years' War.

**SMALLWOOD, J. R.** *The new Newfoundland.* New York: The Macmillan Company. 1931. Pp. xvi, 277. (\$3.75) The government of Newfoundland and the Rt. Hon. Sir Richard Squires, are to be congratulated on the high order of propaganda to which this book attains. It covers in turn the pulp and paper industry, the mining industry, hydro-electric power, trade, transportation and communication, education, tourists, fishing, and a great number of facts which are not included under these headings. The volume attempts to stress and emphasize the industrial progress which Newfoundland has witnessed particularly in the last decade and is invaluable to an understanding of the country at the present time. It should be read, however, with the report of the department of overseas trade on *Economic conditions in Newfoundland to 1931* (London, 1931) in order that the problems as well as the possibilities may be realized. (HAROLD A. INNIS)

**TOMKINSON, GRACE.** *Mr. Zero of Canada* (Dalhousie review, XI (4), January, 1932, pp. 485-490). The story of Urbain Ledoux, champion of the unemployed, and one-time American consul at Three Rivers.

**WEBB, WALTER PRESCOTT.** *The great plains.* Boston: Grimm. 1931. (\$4.00) An economic and social history of the western plains written from a geographical point of view.

## (2) New France

**AUDET, FRANCIS J.** *Louis Franquet* (Mémoires de la Société Royale du Canada, section I, troisième série, XXV, 1931, pp. 65-80). A sketch of the career of Sieur Louis Franquet, inspector and director-general of the fortifications in Canada from 1750-1758.

*Avec les sauvages en 1701* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXVIII (1), janvier, 1932, pp. 40-45). The report of an assembly of Indian chiefs summoned by the Chevalier de Callières in 1701. Transcribed from the archives of the Province of Quebec.

B., TH. *Quelques "Dossiers personnels"* (suite) (Nova Francia, VI (4), juillet-août, 1931, pp. 209-250). Documents concerning Ailleboust d'Argenteuil, Duplessis-Faber, and Potier de Pommeroy.

**DAVID, ALBERT.** *L'abbé Le Loutre* (suite) (Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa, II (1), janvier-mars, 1932, pp. 65-75). The conclusion of a defence of Le Loutre.

*La famille Chouinard* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXVII (12), décembre, 1931, pp. 760-761). An item of genealogy.

*La famille Dazemard de Lusignan* (suite et fin) (Bulletin des recherches historiques, novembre, 1931, pp. 641-659). A series of documents relating to the Dazemard de Lusignan family.

*La famille Guiet ou Guay* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXVIII (1), janvier, 1932, pp. 63-64). A brief study in genealogy.

FAUTEUX, ÆGIDIUS. *La Chasse Gallery* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXVII (11), novembre, 1931, pp. 693-694). A note on a legend of New France.

*Le chevalier de Maupeou* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, novembre, 1931, pp. 682-683). Facts about Guillaume Emmanuel Théodore de Maupeou, officer in the French navy from 1691 to 1695.

*Le commandeur de Tréguier* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, novembre, 1931, pp. 686-687). A few notes on François Olivier de Forsans, chevalier de Tréguier, who was in the garrison at Niagara in 1688.

*La famille Renaud du Buisson* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, novembre, 1931, pp. 670-676). A careful, detailed genealogical study.

*Mort de M. de la Gauchetière* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, novembre, 1931, pp. 680-682). Information regarding the death of Daniel Migeon de la Gauchetière, captain in the French navy and chevalier de Saint-Louis.

*Pierre et François d'Orfeuille* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, novembre, 1931, pp. 687-688). M. Fauteux identifies the two Orfeuille brothers who came to Canada in 1671.

GAITHER, FRANCES. *The fatal river: The life and death of La Salle*. New York: Henry Holt & Company. 1931. Pp. 303. (\$3.00) Reviewed on page 59.

GÉRIN, LÉON. *La première tentative de colonisation française en Amérique, François I, Jacques Cartier, Roberval* (Report of the annual meeting of the Canadian Historical Association, 1931, pp. 49-60). An endeavour to connect the first attempt at French colonization in America with its social and economic causes and results.

GORHAM, RAYMOND P. *Birth of agriculture in Canada* (Canadian geographical journal, IV (1), January, 1932, pp. 3-17). A history of agriculture in New France. With interesting illustrations.

HOPKINS, GENEVIEVE. *Dramatic elements in La Salle's career* (Indiana history bulletin, VIII (7), April, 1931, pp. 329-340). Episodes in the drama of La Salle's life.

JACKS, L. V. *La Salle*. New York: Scribner's. 1931. Pp. 282. (\$3.00) A dramatic account of La Salle's career for the general reader. For the historian the book is disappointing. Contains a map which shows La Salle's forts, a brief bibliography, and an index.

KELLOGG, LOUISE PHELPS. *The French régime in the Great Lakes country* (Minnesota history, XII (4), December, 1931, pp. 347-358). The early history of the discovery and exploration of the Great Lakes, with reproductions of Hennepin's map of 1683 and the Jesuit map of Lake Superior of 1670-71.

LAFARGUE, ANDRÉ. *Robert Cavelier de la Salle's house at Lachine, Province of Quebec, Canada* (Louisiana historical quarterly, XIV (3), July, 1931, pp. 315-320). A description of La Salle's house at Lachine on the island of Montreal.

LANCTOT, GUSTAVE. *L'affaire du Canada; Bibliographie du procès Bigot* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXVIII (1), janvier, 1932, pp. 8-17). A bibliography of documents relating to Bigot. These documents are all to be found in France in the Bibliothèque Nationale or the Archives Nationales, and in Canada in the Public Archives and in the archives of the Province of Quebec. In his introduction, the writer herein questions the so-called responsibility of Bigot for the fall of New France.

LAPOINTE, LIONEL AUDET. *Les Piercot de Bailleul au Canada* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXVII (12), décembre, 1931, pp. 732-753). A genealogical study.

LE BLAND, ROBERT. *Un corsaire de Saint-Domingue en Acadie, Pierre Morpain, 1707-1711* (Nova Francia, VI (4), juillet-août, 1931, pp. 193-208). Notes on the Acadian career of a filibuster of the early eighteenth century.

*Lettre du gouverneur Frontenac* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, novembre, 1931, pp. 677-679). A letter concerning religion in the province, dated Quebec, November 10, 1674.

*Lettres de Claude Bermen de la Martinière* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXVIII (1), janvier, 1932, pp. 18-39). Letters dated 1714 and 1715 transcribed from the archives of the Province of Quebec.

MASSICOTTE, E. Z. *Besicles et lunettes* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXVIII (1), janvier, 1932, pp. 6-7). A detail of social history in the French régime.

— *Les colons de Montréal de 1642 à 1667, additions et corrections* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXVII (12), décembre, 1931, pp. 757-759). Additions to and corrections of the list of the colonists of Montreal between 1642 and 1667 which was published in the *Bulletin* for 1927.

— *Des vitres aux fenêtres* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXVIII (1), janvier, 1932, pp. 56-57). M. Massicotte discusses the use of window-glass in New France.

— *La famille d'Albani* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, novembre, 1931, pp. 660-669). A detailed genealogical study.

— *Fruits—épices—friandises sous le régime français* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXVII (12), décembre, 1931, pp. 714-723). Interesting items of social history in New France.

— *Le premier voyage en voiture entre Québec et Montréal* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXVII (12), décembre, 1931, pp. 730-731). A question regarding early travel.

— *Le travesti sous le régime français* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXVIII (1), janvier, 1932, pp. 60-61). M. Massicotte relates two cases of women masquerading as men in New France.

NUTE, GRACE LEE. *The voyageur*. New York and London: D. Appleton and Company, 1931. Pp. viii, 289. (\$3.00) Reviewed on page 66.

OUDARD, GEORGES. *Vieille Amérique: La Louisiane au temps des Français*. Paris: Plon, 1931. Pp. 305. (15 fr.) Two chapters are devoted to the Canadian background, one to the explorations of La Salle. Contains a very full bibliography of manuscript and printed sources, in both French and English.

RIDDELL, WILLIAM RENWICK. *The last Indian council of the French at Detroit* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, section 2, series 3, XXV, May, 1931, pp. 165-168). A report of a council held on November 28, 1760 and attended by Hurons, Ottawas, Pottawatomies, and Sauteux.

— *A late official report on the French posts in the northern part of North America* (Michigan history magazine, XVI (1), winter, 1932, pp. 68-81). An English translation of, and comment on, a report reprinted from a copy in the Public Archives of Canada by the *Bulletin des recherches historiques*, July, 1931.

— *References to Illinois in French-Canadian official documents* (Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, XXIII (2), July, 1930, pp. 201-204). Interesting reference to Illinois in the *Collection de manuscrits contenant lettres, mémoires et autres documents historiques relative à la Nouvelle-France*, published by the Province of Quebec.

ROY, P. G. *Jacques-Alexis de Fleury Deschambault* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXVII (12), décembre, 1931, pp. 705-713). A biography of a seignior of New France in the late seventeenth century.

——— *Notes sur la famille Chabot* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXVIII (1), janvier, 1932, pp. 3-5). A genealogical list.

TRAMOND, J. et al. *Les hommes de l'épopée coloniale* (Figaro illustré, mai, 1931, pp. 11-38). Several names famous in the annals of French Canada appear in this list.

VILLIERS, Baron MARC de, du Terrage. *Cavelier de la Salle takes possession of Louisiana (March 13 and April 9, 1682)*. Translated by LAFARGUE, ANDRÉ (Louisiana historical quarterly, XIV (3), July, 1931, pp. 301-314). Translated from *Revue historique des Antilles*, no. 1, October, 1928. Contains two maps, footnotes, and a bibliography.

### (3) British North America before 1867

ANDREWS, CLARENCE L. *Voyage of the East Indiaman Phoenix* (Washington historical quarterly, XXIII (1), January, 1932, p. 37). A note on a British barque from Bengal which touched the north-west coast of America in 1792.

AUDET, FRANCIS J. *François Huot* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXVII (11), novembre, 1931, pp. 695-702). Biographical information regarding François Huot, merchant and self-made man of Quebec in the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries.

——— *Venant Saint-Germain* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXVIII (1), janvier, 1932, pp. 46-47). A biographical note on an inhabitant of Lower Canada.

BARRY, J. NEILSON. *Broughton, up Columbia River, 1792* (Oregon historical quarterly, XXXII (4), December, 1931, pp. 301-312). An attempt to identify "Point Vancouver" by a close study of the records and maps of Lieutenant W. R. Broughton who was in command of H.M.S. *Chatham*, one of the squadron of Captain George Vancouver, in 1792.

BOUCHER, CHAUNCEY S. and BROOKS, ROBERT P. (eds.). *Correspondence addressed to John C. Calhoun, 1837-1849*. (Annual report, American Historical Association, 1929.) Washington: Government Printing Office, 1930. Pp. 429. (\$1.00) Some of the most valuable of the letters are those dealing with the Oregon question.

BURNETT, EDMUND G. (ed.). *Letters of members of the Continental Congress*. Volume V. *January 1, 1780, to February 28, 1781*. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1931. Pp. lxiv, 611. (\$5.00 for paper bound copies and \$5.50 for cloth bound copies) This volume contains much interesting material especially on the extreme difficulty of the Continental Congress in obtaining funds, the critical condition of the army, the lack of co-operation from the states, and the events leading to the adoption of the Articles of Confederation. Interesting sidelights are thrown on the situation in Vermont but there are very few direct references to Canada. Like its predecessors the volume is admirably edited.

BURPEE, LAWRENCE J. *Grand Portage* (Minnesota history, XII (4), December, 1931, pp. 359-377). An address presented at Grand Portage in August, 1931, at the celebration of the two-hundredth anniversary of the landing of La Vérendrye at Grand Portage. Mr. Burpee gives a history of Grand Portage during the days when it was the western headquarters of the fur trade.

BURT, A. L. *A new approach to the problem of the western posts* (Report of the annual meeting of the Canadian Historical Association, 1931, pp. 61-75). A consideration of the problem of the boundary of 1783 and Britain's policy regarding the western posts.

BUXTON, GEORGES. *L'influence de la Révolution Américaine sur le développement constitutionnel du Canada (1774-1791)*. Paris: E. de Boccard. 1929. Pp. xv, 128. This brief study is sound and well written but brings no new light on the problem. It might well have been hoped that additional material would be available in Paris, where the book was written. One is disappointed to find, however, that the author's association with the University of Paris has apparently been productive of no fresh view or new sources; on the other hand his work has suffered from the fact that he has not been able to use the Canadian Archives. (G. de T. GLAZEBROOK)

CARON, IVANHOË. *Influence de la Déclaration de l'Indépendance Américaine et de la Déclaration des Droits de l'Homme sur la Rébellion Canadienne de 1837 et 1838* (Mémoires de la Société Royale du Canada, section I, troisième série, XXV, 1931, pp. 5-26). An estimate of the influence of new democratic ideas on the events which led up to the Rebellion of 1837.

CONNOR, RALPH. *The rock and the river: A romance of Quebec*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. 1931. Pp. 377. (\$2.50) An historical novel covering the troubled days preceding the War of 1812 and dealing with the events leading up to that struggle. The author's descriptions of life among the French Canadians was remarkably true.

DRUMM, STELLA M. *The British-Indian attack on Pine Court (St. Louis)* (Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, XXIII (4), January, 1931, pp. 642-651). A dramatic incident of the American Revolution when St. Louis was attacked by a British force, which included Indians, twenty Canadians, and a party of traders.

DUPLOMB, CH. *Lapérouse à la Baie de Hudson en 1782* (Géographie, LI (3-4), mars-avril, 1929, pp. 145-148). This is a letter from Lapérouse to his mother describing incidents of his campaign in Hudson Bay in 1782.

ELLIOTT, T. C. *David Thompson's journeys in the Pend Oreille country* (Washington historical quarterly, XXIII (1), January, 1932, pp. 18-24). A transcript of David Thompson's journal of the Pend Oreille country (in the present State of Washington), in September and October, 1809. The original journal is in the archives of the Province of Ontario.

*Essays in colonial history presented to Charles McLean Andrews by his students*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1931. Pp. xvi, 345. Included in this collection is an essay on Jonathan Belcher by Ralph G. Lounsbury and it provides a straightforward account of the stormy career of Belcher who was administrator of Nova Scotia, 1760-63, chief justice, 1754-76, and the founder of its judicial system. This is the only essay bearing directly on Canadian history but the following are of interest for comparative purposes: "Parliamentary privilege in the American colonies" by Mary Clarke; "The early careers of the royal governors" by L. W. Labaree. Mr. Labaree levels a shaft at the traditional view that a large number of the governors were placemen, incompetent and negligent.

GOWER, LEVESON. *In other days* (Beaver, no. 3, December, 1931, pp. 334-337). Some brief extracts from Hudson's Bay Company journals and minute books relative to Christmas and New Year festivities.

GREAVES, IDA. *The negro in Canada* (McGill University economic studies, no. 16, *National problems of Canada*.) Orillia, Ontario: Packet-Times Press, Limited. Pp. 79. (75 cents) To be reviewed later.

HERRINGTON, W. S. *The evolution of municipal government in Upper Canada* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, section 2, series 3, XXV, May, 1931, pp. 1-19). An account of the growth of municipal government in Upper Canada after the coming of the Loyalists.

HOWAY, F. W. *Important Hudson's Bay Company document* (Washington historical quarterly, XXIII (1), January, 1932, pp. 35-36). A description and summary of the original agreement between the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company made in 1821 for their union.

HOWAY, F. W. *A list of trading vessels in the maritime fur trade, 1795-1804* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, section 2, series 3, XXV, May, 1931, pp. 117-149). In the *Transactions* for 1930, Judge Howay listed the vessels in the maritime fur trade on the north-west coast of America between 1785 and 1794. This paper covers the next ten years.

HUMPHREYS, R. A. *Lord Shelburne and a projected recall of colonial governors in 1767* (American historical review, XXXVII (2), January, 1932, pp. 269-272). A note on the Earl of Shelburne's careful and conciliatory policy of the 1760's.

*Instructions du Comité Canadien du district de Montréal à Adam Lymburner, député, leur agent en Angleterre (26 novembre 1787)* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXVII (11), novembre, 1931, pp. 690-692). A copy of the instructions given to Adam Lymburner who supported the petition of 1784 for a representation of the people as a constituent part of the government of Canada.

JEWITT, JOHN R. *A journal kept at Nootka Sound*. Published by Charles E. Goodspeed and Company. 1931. Pp. 91. (\$15.00) A limited edition of Jewitt's remarkable story of a captivity of over two years, from 1803 to 1805, among the Indians of Nootka Sound. The original journal was printed in 1807. The Goodspeed edition contains an introduction by Norman L. Dodge and fairly complete footnotes.

LANDON, FRED. *The Duncombe uprising of 1837 and some of its consequences* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, section 2, series 3, XXV, May, 1931, pp. 83-98). A review of the events which prove the widespread unrest in the western part of Upper Canada in 1837.

LEADER, HERMAN A. *Douglas expeditions, 1840-41* (Oregon historical quarterly, XXXII (3), September, 1931, pp. 262-278; (4), December, 1931, pp. 350-372). Instalment III of the Douglas diary covers the time between August 2 and October 2, 1840, when the expedition reached Fort Vancouver. Instalment IV deals with the journey from Fort Simpson to Nisqually, and also contains Douglas's report to Chief Factor McLoughlin in 1840.

LYDENBURG, HARRY MILLER (ed.). *Archibald Robertson, lieutenant-general Royal Engineers: His diaries and sketches in America, 1762-1780*. New York: The New York Public Library. 1930. Pp. x, 300. (\$10.00) A handsome book which contains much valuable source material concerning the progress of the British forces in America during the War of the American Revolution.

OLIVER, EDMUND H. *The journal of Edward Sallows, 1848-1849* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, section 2, series 3, XXV, May, 1931, pp. 151-163). Extracts from the journal of a minister of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Upper Canada. This journal is in the possession of the Collingwood Museum and it throws light upon pioneering and ecclesiastical conditions of the period.

PEASE, THEODORE CALVIN. *1780—The Revolution at crisis in the west* (Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, XXIII (4), January, 1931, pp. 664-681). A review of the western campaign of 1780.

PIPES, NELLIE B. *Indian conditions in 1836-38* (Oregon historical quarterly, XXXII (4), December, 1931, pp. 332-342). A letter written in 1842 which condemns the Hudson's Bay Company's treatment of the Indians in the North-west.

POUND, ARTHUR. *Native stock: The rise of the American spirit seen in six lives*. New York: Macmillan. 1931. Pp. vii, 267. (\$3.00) Reviewed on page 79.

PRITCHETT, JOHN PERRY. *Selkirk purchase of the Red River Valley, 1811* (Journal of economic and business history, III, 1930-31, pp. 529-553). A well-documented account of Selkirk's relations with the Hudson's Bay Company in securing the Red River Valley.

QUAIFE, M. M. *Detroit biographies: Alexander Macomb*. (Burton historical collection leaflet, X (1), November, 1931. Edited by M. M. QUAIFE.) Detroit: Detroit Public Library. 1931. Pp. 16. The story of an American general at Plattsburg in 1814.

SHAW, HELEN LOUISE. *British administration of the southern Indians, 1756-1783.* Bryn Mawr, Pa.: The author. Pp. 205. In two chapters the author studies the British use of the Indians during the Revolutionary War.

TUNEM, ALFRED. *The dispute over the San Juan Island water boundary* (Washington historical quarterly, XXIII (1), January, 1932, pp. 38-46). An investigation of the San Juan dispute of 1846 to 1872 between the United States and Great Britain, which centred around the location of the boundary line separating Vancouver Island from the mainland of Washington territory.

VOSSLER, OTTO. *Die Ursprünge der Amerikanischen Revolution von 1776* (Historische Vierteljahrsschrift, October, 1931). A German interpretation of some of the causes of the American Revolution.

WADE, MARK SWEETEN. *The overlanders of '62* (Archives of British Columbia, memoir no. IX.) Edited by JOHN HOSIE. Victoria, B.C.: Printed by Charles F. Banfield. 1931. Pp. xiii, 174. Reviewed on page 81.

WATSON, ROBERT. *The first Beaver Club* (Beaver, no. 3, December, 1931, pp. 334-337). A note on the Beaver Club established in 1785 by the partners of the North West Company.

WEBSTER, J. CLARENCE (ed.). *The journal of Jeffery Amherst recording the military career of General Amherst in America from 1758 to 1763.* Toronto: The Ryerson Press; Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1931. Pp. xxiv, 341. (\$7.00) Reviewed on page 53.

#### (4) The Dominion of Canada

*L'affaire Beauharnois* (Economist, August 15, 1931, pp. 301-303). An inquiry into the political scandal at Ottawa connected with the Beauharnois Corporation.

ANGUS, H. F. *Survey of Canadian affairs* (Pacific affairs, IV (12), December, 1931, pp. 1082-1084). A brief outline of recent Canadian relations in the Pacific with special emphasis on the trade agreement of last July with Australia.

BORDEN, Sir ROBERT. *Problem of an efficient civil service* (Report of the annual meeting of the Canadian Historical Association, 1931, pp. 5-34). An historical review of the Canadian civil service and the incidents which culminated in the Civil Service Act of 1918.

*Canada. II. The Beauharnois investigation* (Round table, no. 85, December, 1931, pp. 159-167). Salient features of the investigation by a committee of the house of commons of the Beauharnois power project and of the relations of the Beauharnois Power Corporation with the two political parties.

*Canadian-American relations* (International affairs, X (4), July, 1931, pp. 493-503). A report, with comments, prepared during 1929-1930 by the Montreal branch of the Royal Institute of International Affairs concerning Canadian relations with the United States.

*The Canadian annual review of public affairs, 1930-31.* Toronto: The Canadian Review Company. 1931. Pp. 797. (\$8.00) Reviewed on page 87.

*Canadian progress, 1930-31. A yearly volume of information on Canada, its finance, industry, commerce and agriculture, and the opportunities it offers to the investor and the settler.* Sixth year of issue. Montreal: Thomas Skinner of Canada. 1931. Pp. iii, 148. Contains sections on agriculture, dairying, forestry, banks, investment and finance, trade, the automobile industry, water power and hydro-electric development, the pulp and paper industry, the mining industry, the Canadian Pacific and the Canadian National Railways, provincial progress 1930-1931, Newfoundland, and a gazetteer of the principal cities and towns of Canada.

CARLETON, VERO. *The house of temptation*. Ottawa: Graphic Publishers. 1931. Pp. 354. (\$2.00) A novel which is a thinly-veiled satire on the social, official, and political life of Ottawa.

DEXTER, GRANT. *The Canadian political scene* (Queen's quarterly, autumn, 1931, pp. 745-751). A survey of federal politics since the close of the last parliamentary session.

*Le gouvernement local au Canada* (Administration locale, octobre-décembre, 1930, pp. 1165-1166). A study of local government and its operation throughout Canada.

HARVEY, A. B. *Tendencies in legislation* (Queen's quarterly, autumn, 1931, pp. 711-723). A consideration of certain maxims of the law which are now in danger of perishing through gradual encroachments made upon them in recent legislation.

HAYDON, ANDREW. *Adam Shortt* (Queen's quarterly, autumn, 1931, pp. 609-623). An appreciation of the life and work of Dr. Adam Shortt.

HOTCHKISS, H. G. *Dominion versus provincial control of aviation in Canada* (Air law review, July, 1931). A legal study of control of aviation.

LAPOINTE, ARTHUR. *Soldier of Quebec (1916-1919)*. Translated by R. C. FETHERSTONHAUGH. Montreal: Editions Edouard Garand. 1931. Pp. 116. The diary of a French-Canadian soldier in the Great War from 1916-1919. Two editions of this work have appeared in French under the title *Souvenirs et impressions de ma vie de soldat*.

*The late C. J. Doherty, P.C., K.C., D.C.L.* (Canadian bar review, IX (8), October, 1931, pp. 538-539). A resolution by the Canadian Bar Association commemorative of the high character of the Right Honourable Charles J. Doherty, which contains a summary of his life and work.

LONDON, A. F. *Canada to-day* (Empire review, no. 370, November, 1931, pp. 302-306). A few salient points noted by the writer in a journey across the continent, which throw light upon conditions in Canada to-day.

MACBETH, R. G. *Sir Augustus Nanton: A biography*. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1931. Pp. ix, 130. (\$2.50) Reviewed on page 83.

MACDERMOT, T. W. L. *John A. Macdonald—his biographies and biographers* (Report of the annual meeting of the Canadian Historical Association, 1931, pp. 77-84). A glance at the biographical material on Macdonald with the conclusion that there is in modern terms no real biography of Sir John A. Macdonald.

MACDONNELL, Sir ARCHIBALD. "The old red patch". *The 1st Canadian division at the breaking of the Canal du Nord line* (Canadian defence quarterly, IX (1), October, 1931, pp. 10-26). A description of operations of the 1st Canadian division in September, 1918.

MURRAY, W. W. *Canadians in "Dunsterforce" IV* (Canadian defence quarterly, IX (1), October, 1931, pp. 92-100). A further instalment of the story of Canadians in Persia during the Great War.

ST. LAURENT, LOUIS S. *Presidential address*. (Canadian Bar Association) (Canadian bar review, IX (8), October, 1931, pp. 525-537). This address appeals to a wider public than the Canadian Bar Association because, coming from a French Canadian, it contains some important suggestions about appeals to the privy council. In this connection Mr. R. W. Shannon's note in the same number of the *Canadian bar review*, pp. 578-581, draws attention to the clash of judicial opinion between the house of lords and the privy council.

SANDBORN, RUTH ELLEN. *The United States and the British northwest, 1865-1870* (North Dakota historical quarterly, VI (1), October, 1931, pp. 5-41). An estimate of annexationist feeling in the United States and in the British north-west between 1865 and 1870, and an attempt to reveal the extent to which Americans were involved in the Red River difficulties of 1869 and 1870.

SAUVÉ, ARTHUR. *La Confédération canadienne* (Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa, II (1), janvier-mars, 1932, pp. 11-21). A commendation of the constitution of 1867. Any failures in the Canadian Confederation are due rather to the interpretation of the British North America Act than to any inherent fault in the act itself.

STEEL, W. ARTHUR. *Wireless telegraphy in the Canadian corps in France*. Chapter 11 (Canadian defence quarterly, IX (1), October, 1931, pp. 105-116). The conclusion of this work deals with the advance into Germany in November and December, 1918.

STEVENSON, JOHN A. *Canada's unemployment problem* (Fortnightly review, 130, N.S. (779), November, 1931, pp. 623-629). A discussion of the ways and means by which Canada is attempting to cope with unemployment.

*Political campaign funds* (Queen's quarterly, autumn, 1931, pp. 635-647). A discussion of the old problem of campaign funds which was raised again by the disclosures made at the sessions of the parliamentary committee which investigated the activities of the Beauharnois Corporation.

THORNTON, Sir HENRY. *Forget the scapegoat* (United Empire, XXIII (1), January, 1932, pp. 11-13). A comment on the present depression with a plea for the avoidance of inflammatory and ill-considered gossip.

### III. PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL HISTORY

#### (1) The Maritime Provinces

CANADA. I. *The Maritime Provinces* (Round table, no. 85, December, 1931, pp. 155-158). A brief review of the maritime rights movement and its solution.

HARVEY, D. C. *Dishing the reformers* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, section 2, series 3, XXV, May, 1931, pp. 37-44). A paper showing how the family compact of Prince Edward Island, in the name of fuller responsible government, temporarily succeeded in excluding salaried officials from seats in the legislature.

*Early settlement and social conditions in Prince Edward Island* (Dalhousie review, XI (4), January, 1932, pp. 448-461). An account of early immigration into Prince Edward Island and a description of social conditions in the pioneer settlements of the Island.

HATHEWAY, G. HAMILTON. *Down Digby Neck* (Canadian geographical journal, III (6), December, 1931, pp. 411-422). A description of the neck of land in Nova Scotia lying between St. Mary's Bay and the Bay of Fundy.

INNIS, H. A. *An introduction to the economic history of the Maritimes (including Newfoundland and New England)* (Report of the Canadian Historical Association, 1931, pp. 85-96). An analysis of the growth of the fishing industry with emphasis on its effect on the economic, social, and political activities of the Maritime Provinces, Newfoundland, and New England.

LIVINGSTON, W. ROSS. *Responsible government in Prince Edward Island: A triumph of self-government under the crown* (University of Iowa studies in the social sciences, vol. IX, no. 4.) Iowa City: University of Iowa. 1931. Pp. 136. To be reviewed later.

#### (2) The Province of Quebec

BARBEAU, MARIUS. *French Canada: Its survival* (Dalhousie review, XI (4), January, 1932, pp. 433-438). An analysis of the causes of the survival of French Canada, and a discussion of the possible continuance of this survival.

BERNARD, ANTOINE. *En remontant la baie des Chaleurs* (Canada français, XIX (4), décembre, 1931, pp. 262-272). A description of Chaleur Bay and the coast of Gaspé.

*Inventaire des registres de l'état civil du district de Nicolet, déposés au chef-lieu: Nicolet* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXVII (12), décembre, 1931, p. 754). A list of registers.

*Inventaire des registres de l'état civil pour le district de Montcalm conservés à Mont-Laurier* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXVII (11), novembre, 1931, pp. 695-702). An inventory of registers.

MASSICOTTE, E. Z. *Les premières automobiles à Montréal* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, novembre, 1931, p. 679). A note on the first automobiles in Montreal.

TANGHE, RAYMOND. *Un voyage en Gaspésie* (Canada français, XIX (5), janvier, 1932, pp. 367-370). A description of the Gaspé peninsula.

### (3) The Province of Ontario

BREITHAUPP, W. H. *Historical notes on the Grand River* (Waterloo Historical Society, Eighteenth annual report, 1930, pp. 219-229). Facts about the name, the geography, the natural advantages, the history, navigation, settlement, and pioneers of the Grand River, Ontario.

*More source material for Ontario Mennonite history* (Mennonite quarterly review, V (3), July, 1931, pp. 221-224). A Mennonite bibliography.

PANABAKER, D. N. "Deserted villages" of Waterloo County (Waterloo Historical Society, Eighteenth annual report, 1930, pp. 164-170). Records of two deserted hamlets, Fisher's Mills and Kossuth, of Waterloo County, Ontario.

— *Organization and early political history of what is now Waterloo County* (Waterloo Historical Society, Eighteenth annual report, 1930, pp. 213-218). Observations on the early political organization and history of Waterloo County, Ontario.

ROBERTSON, J. K. *Further sketches of Tayville* (Queen's quarterly, autumn, 1931, pp. 667-677). Memories of a small Ontarian town at the beginning of the century.

SHANTZ, FREDERICK R. *The Shantz family history* (Waterloo Historical Society, Eighteenth annual report, 1930, pp. 208-212). An interesting note on the migration of Mennonites to Ontario.

STROH, JACOB. *Reminiscences of Berlin (now Kitchener)* (Waterloo Historical Society, Eighteenth annual report, 1930, pp. 175-207). Memoirs of the early topography of the present city of Kitchener in Ontario.

*Waterloo Historical Society: Eighteenth annual report*. Waterloo, Ontario: Chronicle Press. 1930. Pp. 161-237. Contains reports and historical papers.

### (4) The Western Provinces

AUCLAIR, ÉLIE J. *Introduction générale à l'histoire de Gravelbourg* (Canada français, XIX (4), décembre, 1931, pp. 249-257). An introduction to the Abbé Auclair's book on Gravelbourg, the publication of which is postponed owing to the economic depression in western Canada. This book relates the history of Gravelbourg in Saskatchewan from its beginnings in 1906 and 1907.

DESFOSSES, P. *Le chemin de fer de Baie d'Hudson et son territoire* (La Nature, no. 2857, May 15, 1931, pp. 458-460). A sketch of the Hudson Bay Railway and its territory.

BELL, C. N. *Historic Fort Rouge* (Free press evening bulletin, Winnipeg, January 2, 1932). It is pointed out herein that it was Lamarque, not La Vérendrye, who established Fort Rouge (Winnipeg).

PRUD'HOMME, L. A. *Le conseil législatif de Manitoba* (Mémoires de la Société Royale du Canada, section I, troisième série, XXV, 1931, pp. 61-64). An outline of the creation, early personnel, and working of the legislative council of Manitoba, and reasons why it should now, according to the writer, be abolished.

WALLACE, R. C. *The new north in Manitoba* (Canadian geographical journal, III (6), December, 1931, pp. 393-409). An illustrated historical and economic description of northern Manitoba.

WOODSWORTH, J. S. *Wheat and politics on the Prairies* (Queen's quarterly, autumn, 1931, pp. 733-744). Mr. Woodsworth sets forth the political reactions of the Prairie Provinces to the present economic situation, and records briefly something of the history of the settlement of the provinces.

(5) **British Columbia and the North-west Coast**

BARRY, J. NEILSON. *Spaniards in early Oregon* (Washington historical quarterly, XXIII (1), January, 1932, pp. 25-34). An investigation of the story that a Spanish vessel was wrecked a few miles south of the entrance to the Columbia River, probably about 1725-1730.

ELLIOTT, T. C. *The mysterious Oregon* (Washington historical quarterly, XXII (4), October, 1931, pp. 289-292). Remarks on the origin and meaning of the name "Oregon".

GHENT, W. J. *The early far west, a narrative outline, 1540-1850*. New York: Longmans. 1931. Pp. 411. (\$3.50) A history of the region between the Mississippi River and the Pacific Ocean. Although the author has confined himself almost exclusively to the United States, nevertheless the book, with its index and maps, is of some value to Canadian students of the Pacific north-west.

GOLMAN, RUTH D. *Garibaldi Park* (Canadian geographical journal, November, 1931, pp. 339-348). A description of an Alpine park in British Columbia.

HORNER, JOHN B. *Oregon history and early literature: A pictorial narrative of the Pacific northwest*. Revised and enlarged edition. Portland, Oregon: The J. K. Gill Company. 1931. Pp. 442. (\$2.50) An illustrated textbook of the history of Oregon.

*Iron with the early Hawaiians*. By JOHN F. G. STOKES; *Japanese account of the first recorded visit of shipwrecked Japanese to Hawaii*. Translated by Y. SOGA; *Delano's account of the shipwrecked Japanese and comments on the Japanese narrative*. By HENRY B. RESTARICK (Papers of the Hawaiian Historical Society, number 18. Honolulu: The Printshop Company. 1931. Pp. 24). Reviewed on page 82.

KAY, JAMES. *Junior fire wardens* (United Empire, XXII (11), November, 1931, pp. 595-597). An account of some of the means by which forest fires are stamped out in British Columbia.

LYNDELL, HONORÉE B. *Isles of Strait of Georgia* (Canadian geographical journal, IV (1), January, 1932, pp. 19-36). A descriptive account of the Strait of Georgia Islands which lie off the coast of British Columbia.

MCMURTRIE, DOUGLAS C. *The first printing in British Columbia*. Chicago: Privately Printed. 1929. Pp. 22. This attractive brochure contains a short sketch of the earliest printing of newspapers and documents in British Columbia. The gold rush of 1858, it is now realized, was in reality merely the transporting to British soil of a part of California; and in keeping with that fact we find the first newspapers established by San Francisco journalists. The rush began in May, 1858 and on June 25 appeared the first issue of the short-lived *Victoria Gazette*. It lasted only a year. The *Colonist*, which is still being published, was established by Amor DeCosmos in December, 1858. The first books published in the province were the *Rules of court* and *The Fraser Mines vindicated*, both of which were issued in 1858. The first page of the former and the title page of the latter are reproduced. A considerable amount of the information in this brochure will be found in the paper on "The pioneer press of British Columbia" by John Forsyth in the *First annual report of the British Columbia Historical Association*, 1923. (F. W. HOWAY)

SHIELS, ARCHIE W. (comp.). *Early voyages of the Pacific*. Bellingham, Wash.: Privately printed. 1930. Pp. 61. This compilation contains a sketch of Sir Francis Drake's activities on the Spanish Main; of the Spanish settlement at Nootka; of Alaska in the days of the great Baranof; and of the purchase of that Russian territory by the United States in 1867. As Mr. Shiel's states: "This is not supposed to be a history", but merely a glimpse into some interesting "high lights" in the story of the Pacific coast. In its preparation, as he acknowledges, he has drawn heavily upon the works of well known authors. He makes no claim to original research; but the abridgements and summaries he has made show both accuracy and discrimination. This book is beautifully printed on fine paper and attractively bound. (F. W. HOWAY)

STOKES, JOHN F. G. *Origin of the condemnation of Captain Cook in Hawaii*. (Extract, 39th annual report of the Hawaiian Historical Society, Bishop Museum, Honolulu, 1931.) Pp. 104. A pamphlet attacking with strong arguments the falsehoods concerning Cook in Hawaii which have become accepted as historical fact.

#### IV. GEOGRAPHY, ECONOMICS AND STATISTICS

BELL, JAMES MACKINTOSH. *Far places*. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1931. Pp. xv, 174. (\$3.00) Reviewed on page 71.

BLANCHARD, RAOUL. *Études canadiennes: II. Le rebord sud de l'estuaire du Saint-Laurent* (Revue de géographie alpine, XIX (1), 1931, pp. 5-81). A geographical and agricultural description of the southern border of the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

BOUCHERY, EDMOND. *La situation économique et financière du Canada* (Économiste européen, 12 juin, 1931, pp. 373-374). An analysis of Canada's economic and financial position.

BREBNER, J. BARTLET. *Canadian optimism* (Current history, December, 1931, pp. 447-448). Factors which underlie the widespread expressions of confidence in Canada during the present economic crisis.

CAMSELL, CHARLES. *Canada's position in the mineral situation of the British Empire* (Canadian defence quarterly, IX (1), October, 1931, pp. 27-40). An indication of Canada's position as a potential producer of great mineral wealth in the future.

CUNNINGHAM, BRYSSON. *Recent progress in Canadian hydro-electric power development* (Nature (London), 124 (3117), July 27, 1929, pp. 130-133). Statistics of Canada's estimated available water power and comparisons with European countries.

DOWNMAN, C. P. C. *The trust company in Canada* (Burroughs clearing house, XV (9), June, 1931, pp. 21-23). An outline of the historical development and principal functions of trust companies in Canada.

FORBES, ALEXANDER. *Surveying in northern Labrador* (Geographical review, January, 1932, pp. 30-60). An illustrated account of a surveying expedition to the northern third of Labrador.

GANONG, W. F. *Crucial maps in the early cartography and place-nomenclature of the Atlantic coast of Canada, III* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, section 2, series 3, XXV, May, 1931, pp. 169-203). This paper continues the subject of its two predecessors published in these *Transactions*. It deals with the maps of 1527 by Maggiolo and of 1529 by H. de Verrazano, with others from the same prototype, in relation to the French voyage of Jean de Verrazano along the North American coast in 1524.

HUOT, LOUIS. *Beauharnois power works* (Canadian geographical journal, November, 1931, pp. 295-315). An account, with plans and illustrations of the building of the Beauharnois canal and hydro-electric plant between Lakes St. Francis and St. Louis in the Province of Quebec.

LASCAR, STEFAN. *Canada agricola* (Institutul economic românesc, Buletinul, Bucharest, March-April, 1931, pp. 194-199). A study of Canada's agricultural position.

LEMAN, BEAUDRY. *Canada's financial position* (Journal of the Canadian Bankers' Association, XXXIX (2), January, 1932, pp. 161-166). A statistical résumé of Canada's present financial position, with a consideration of the increase in the production of gold in Canada to-day.

LESLIE, LIONEL A. D. *Wilderness trails in three continents*. London: Heath Cranton. 1931. Pp. xvi, 224. (10s. 6d.) The chapters on Labrador describe some of the surroundings, trials, and diversions of an exploration party.

LEWIS, ROBERT S. *The Lake Superior iron ore industry* (Mining magazine, 44 (6), June, 1931, 342-348). A review of the iron mining industry of the Lake Superior region and of the Province of Ontario.

LONGSTRETH, T. MORRIS. *Some geographical difficulties of the R.C.M.P.* (Canadian defence quarterly, IX (1), October, 1931, pp. 41-48). The purpose of this article is to call attention to the geographical difficulties which the Royal Canadian Mounted Police force has had to master.

MILLER, ÉMILE. *Les études géographiques au Canada* (Revue trimestrielle canadienne, XVIII (68), décembre, 1931, pp. 424-433). An outline of Canadian geographical literature and cartography.

MORTARA, MARIO. *Lo stato e l'industria elettrica—polemiche americane* (Giornale degli economisti, 45 (8), August, 1930, pp. 718-731). Reasons for and against intervention by the state in the matter of water power. The Hydro-Electric Power Commission of Ontario is given as an example of public control.

NESTLER TRICOCHE, G. *Le pool canadien du blé* (Revue des études coopératives, juillet-septembre, 1931, pp. 393-408). A discussion of the Canadian wheat pool.

O'LEARY, M. GRATTAN. *Canada's railway crisis* (Queen's quarterly, autumn, 1931, pp. 724-732). A clear and brief outline of the difficulties which are being encountered by Canada's railways to-day and some of the causes of these difficulties.

*Report of the Saint Lawrence power development commission of the State of New York.* Albany, N.Y.: 1931. Pp. 206. A report giving the point of view of the State of New York on the canalization and development of the St. Lawrence River.

STEWART, DOWNIE. *New Zealand's Pacific trade and tariff* (Pacific affairs, November, 1931, pp. 980-1004). A section of the article traces the development of New Zealand's trade with Canada from 1900 to 1930.

TEELING, WILLIAM. *Rivals in Canada* (English review, August, 1931, pp. 352-356). A discussion of the investment of English and American capital in Canada.

THOMPSON, WILLIAM F. *The regulation of the halibut fisheries of the Pacific coast of North America* (Conseil Permanent International pour l'Exploration de la Mer, Journal, IV (2), August, 1929, pp. 145-161). A summary of regulations relating to fisheries on the Pacific coast.

## V. EDUCATIONAL AND RELIGIOUS HISTORY

BOUCHER, Mgr ANDRÉ. *L'action missionnaire*. Paris: Librairie Bloud et Gay. 1931. Pp. xii, 227. Contains information concerning the missions of the Roman Catholic Church in America in general and in Canada in particular.

FAUTEUX, AEGIDIUS. *Les abbés Mossu et Bergier* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, novembre, 1931, pp. 688-689). Some facts about two Sulpician priests, Messieurs Antoine Mossu et Jean Bergier.

GOSSELIN, AMÉDÉE. *L'abbé Thaumur de la Source* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXVII (12), décembre, 1931, pp. 724-729). Biographical notes on a priest of Quebec of two centuries ago who was a missionary on the Mississippi.

GOYAU, GEORGES. *Missions et missionnaires*. Paris: Librairie Bloud et Gay. 1931. Pp. 266. The author includes an outline of Catholic missionary work in Canada.

HUGOLIN, R. P. *Table nominale des Récollets de Bretagne, missionnaires et aumoniers dans l'Ile Royale (1713-1759)* (Mémoires de la Société Royale du Canada, section I, troisième série, XXV, 1931, pp. 81-100). A provisional list of the Récollets of Brittany who were missionaries and chaplains in Ile Royale from 1713 up to the capture of Louisbourg in 1758. Also a list of the provincial ministers of Brittany from 1701 to 1760 and a list of the provincial commissioners of the Breton Récollets in Ile Royale (1713-1758).

*Journal intime de Charles Pfister* (Revue trimestrielle canadienne, XVIII (68), décembre, 1931, pp. 348-377). The Canadian journal of Charles Pfister, the principal promoter of the École Polytechnique.

MORICE, A. G. *The Catholic Church in Western Canada*. Winnipeg: Canadian Publishers, Ltd., 1931. Pp. 26. A sketch of the work of the Roman Catholic Church in Western Canada.

RIDDELL, WILLIAM RENWICK. *The first British bishop of Quebec and the Catholics of Kaskaskia* (Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, XXIII (2), July, 1930, pp. 205-208). A communication from Mgr Jean Olivier Briand to the inhabitants of Kaskaskia, together with a few notes on Mgr Briand.

SMITH, A. R. G. *Beginning and progress of school fairs in Ontario* (Waterloo Historical Society, Eighteenth annual report, 1930, pp. 171-174). An item in the rural history of Ontario.

## VI. ART AND LITERATURE

BARBEAU, MARIUS. *The Indians of the Prairies and the Rockies: A theme for modern painters* (University of Toronto quarterly, I (2), January, 1932, pp. 197-206). A review of a phase of Canadian art.

BOUCHARD, GEORGES. *La renaissance des arts domestiques* (Canada français, XIX (5), janvier, 1932, pp. 352-366). The writer touches on the revival of handicrafts in French Canada.

CHARTIER, ÉMILE. *La vie de l'esprit au Canada français* (Mémoires de la Société Royale du Canada, section I, troisième série, XXV, 1931, pp. 27-40). An examination of the literature, the culture, the folk-lore of French Canada and an attempt to establish the relationship between French and French-Canadian ideals.

FAUTEUX, AEGIDIUS. *Bataille de vers autour d'une tombe* (Mémoires de la Société Royale du Canada, section I, troisième série, XXV, 1931, pp. 47-60). A discussion of the comic-heroic poem, *Les troubles de l'église du Canada en 1728*.

FOSTER, MRS. W. GARLAND. *The Mohawk princess, being some account of the life of Tekahion-wake (E. Pauline Johnson)*. Vancouver, B.C.: Lion's Gate Publishing Company. 1931. Pp. 216. A biography of the poetess, E. Pauline Johnson. With illustrations, a bibliography of Pauline Johnson's works, and an index.

HÉBERT, MAURICE. *Au tournant romanesque de nos lettres* (Canada français, XIX (5), janvier, 1932, pp. 371-383). Observations on recent tendencies in French-Canadian literature.

HIRST, W. A. *The Empire in literature* (Empire review, no. 372, January, 1932, pp. 23-28). Observations on the evolution of the imperial ideal as exemplified in literature.

LAFLAMME, AMÉDÉE K. *Alfred Desrochers* (Canada français, XIX (4), décembre, 1931, pp. 258-261). A note on a French-Canadian poet.

ROQUEBRUNE, ROBERT de. *Une littérature inconnue: La littérature canadienne-française* (Revue de France, 11e année, no. 24, 15 décembre, 1931, pp. 681-701). An interesting analysis of French-Canadian literature. The subject is examined under the headings: (1) De Jacques Cartier à Champlain; (2) Lettres, mémoires et récits; (3) Les aventuriers.

ROY, CAMILLE. *Critique et littérature nationale* (Canada français, XIX (1), septembre, 1931, pp. 7-13). A discussion of Canadian literature and criticism.

TRAQUAIR, RAMSAY. *The old architecture of French Canada* (Queen's quarterly, autumn, 1931, pp. 589-608). A history and description of French-Canadian domestic and ecclesiastical architecture.

## VII. ETHNOLOGY, ANTHROPOLOGY, AND ARCHAEOLOGY

(Contributed by Professor T. F. McIlwraith. Includes items which have appeared since the publication of the previous list in "The Canadian Historical Review" December, 1930.)

ALLEN, LOUIS. *Siouan and Iroquoian* (International journal of American linguistics, VI (3-4), 1929, pp. 185-193). Morphological and lexical comparisons of Siouan and Iroquoian show sufficient resemblances to imply that the obvious differences are less fundamental than is generally believed, and that the two stocks may be genetically connected.

BARBEAU, MARIUS. *The Indians of the Prairies and the Rockies* (University of Toronto quarterly, I (2), January, 1932, pp. 197-206). The Indians of the north-west coast and of the Rockies differ greatly from one another, but both, even in their present cultural decay, have distinctive and picturesque characteristics which have attracted modern painters. Thus something, at least, of their life and thoughts is destined to be preserved through Canadian art.

*The modern growth of the totem pole on the northwest coast* (Proceedings of the twenty-third International Congress of Americanists, New York, 1928. New York: 1930, pp. 505-511). Although the use of house-posts may be ancient among the Indians of the north-west coast, totem poles did not develop until metal tools were available. The practice seems to have originated among the northern Tsimshian of the Nass River.

*The origin of floral and other designs among the Canadian and neighboring Indians* (Proceedings of the twenty-third International Congress of Americanists, New York, 1928. New York: 1930, p. 512). Both types of costume and styles of ornamentation usually regarded as typical of the Indians of eastern Canada are, in fact, derived from Europe. Some are simple copies of the white man's clothing, but the techniques of sewing and of embroidery, with associated motifs, were directly taught to the natives by French nuns.

*Our Indians—their disappearance* (Queen's quarterly, autumn, 1931, pp. 691-707). A description of the Indians of North America at the time of the coming of the white man, and of their condition in the present day.

*Totem poles of the Gitksan, upper Skeena River, British Columbia.* (National Museum of Canada, bulletin 61, anthropological series 12.) Ottawa: 1929. Pp. viii, 276; 33 plates. Reviewed in volume XII on page 199.

BARTLETT, ROBERT A. and BIRD, JUNIUS. *The Bartlett east Greenland expedition* (Geographical review, XXI (3), July, 1931, pp. 398-414). A preliminary report of archaeological work on Shannon and Clavering Islands, north-east Greenland, an area deserted by the Eskimo about one hundred years ago.

BECKWITH, MARTHA WARREN. *Folklore in America*. (Publications of the Folklore Foundation, Vassar College, no. 11.) Poughkeepsie, New York: 1931. Pp. 76. A scholarly and well annotated exposition of the scope of folklore, of its methods, and particularly of the American point of view and contributions to the subject.

BENDIXEN, O. *Ekspeditionen till Cap Farev Egnen* (Geografisk tidsskrift, XXXII (2-3), June-September, 1929, pp. 160-179). Numerous ruins between Cape Farewell and the Isle of Dannebrog show that the east coast of Greenland was formerly populated, although the last surviving Eskimo emigrated in 1900.

BENTLEY, MADISON (ed.). *In quest of glacial man.* (Reprint and circular series of the National Research Council, no. 100.) Washington: 1931. Pp. 20. Recognizing that important evidence on the antiquity of man in America may be accidentally unearthed at any time, the National Research Council has sponsored a scheme to further co-operation between scientists and those conducting commercial excavations.

BEYNON, E. D. *Walpole sziget, Detroit öslakóinak jelenlegi hazája* (Földgömb, II (7), 1931, pp. 244-247). The Indian reserve on Walpole Island at the mouth of the St. Clair River is occupied by Chippewa, Potawatony, and Ottawa, survivors of bands formerly holding the Detroit region. Members of these groups are merging into a single people with strong tribal sentiment and pride; the development of a secret society has led to a rerudescence of native practices.

BIRKET-SMITH, KAJ. *The Caribou Eskimos: Material and social life and their cultural position.* I. *Descriptive part.* II. *Analytical part.* (Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition 1921-24, V., parts I and II.) Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, Nordisk Forlag. 1929. Pp. 310, 116 illustrations, 1 map; 420, 5 illustrations. Reviewed in volume XII on page 91.

*Folk wanderings and culture drifts in northern North America* (Journal de la Société des Américanistes, XXII, fasc. 1, 1930, pp. 1-32). The introduction of iron and of fire-arms to New England and the St. Lawrence valley was such a cultural upheaval that it led to far-reaching racial movements. The extent of these is so little recognized that most ethnographical maps of North America assume that tribes had been long settled in the areas where they were encountered by explorers. The prehistoric invention or introduction of the snow-shoe must have produced a comparable cultural dislocation, the probable effects of which are considered in a stimulating thesis.

*On the origin of Eskimo culture* (Proceedings of the twenty-third International Congress of Americanists, New York, 1928. New York: 1930, pp. 470-475). In this preliminary statement of views later expanded in volume V of the Thule Expedition Reports, the author argues for the inland origin of much of Eskimo culture.

*The question of the origin of Eskimo culture: A rejoinder* (American anthropologist, XXXII (4), October-December, 1930, pp. 608-624). In opposition to the opinion of Mathiassen, his colleague on the Fifth Thule Expedition, Birket-Smith holds that the inland Caribou Eskimo illustrate the survival of an archaic culture, possessed by the Eskimo prior to moving to the sea-coast. This paper, in conjunction with Mathiassen's, gives an authoritative summary of modern views concerning the Eskimo.

*Sugerør og tobakspipe i Nord-Amerika* (Geografisk tidsskrift, XXXII, 1929, pp. 32-42). The author believes that the Eskimo drinking tube is genetically related to the ceremonial tube of the tribes of the north-west coast, and that this in turn developed from the southern tobacco pipe.

BLOOMFIELD, L. *Sacred stories of the Sweet Grass Cree.* (National Museum of Canada, bulletin 60, anthropological series no. 11.) Ottawa: 1930. Pp. 346. This volume contains the texts and translations of thirty-six Plains Cree legends, collected on the Sweet Grass Reserve, Saskatchewan. The traditions were dictated by informants who knew no English, and later translated. This method ensures accurate text material for linguistic analysis, and also illustrates the style and technique of story-telling, so essential to the folklorist. The value of this work to the student of Algonkian linguistics, or of linguistics generally, is too obvious to need comment. The tales themselves, many of them of the well-known trickster type, refer entirely to the distant past; the translations into English are close but not too literal to deter the reader, whose chief regret will be that essential incidents have been omitted in many cases.

BOAS, FRANZ. *Metaphorical expressions in the language of the Kwakiutl Indians* (Donum natalicium Schrijnen. Verzameling van opstellen door oudleerlingen en bevriende vakgenooten opgedragen aan Mgr. Prof. Dr. Jos. Schrijnen, Bij Gelegenheid van zijn zestiende verjaardag, 3 Mei 1929. Nijmegen-Utrecht, 1929, pp. 147-153).

— *Notes on the Kwakiutl vocabulary* (International journal of American linguistics, VI (3-4), 1931, pp. 163-178). A series of additions, corrections, and amplification is here given to a Kwakiutl vocabulary published in 1921.

BOGORAS, WALDEMAR G. *The shamanistic call and the period of initiation in Northern Asia and Northern America* (Proceedings of the twenty-third International Congress of Americanists, New York, 1928. New York: 1930, pp. 441-444). In general, the method of obtaining shamanistic power differs between North America and Siberia; in the former, the would-be neophyte seeks a guardian by prayer and self-torture, whereas an Asiatic shaman is selected by a supernatural being who may or may not demand suffering from his *protégé*.

BURWASH, L. T. *The Franklin search* (Canadian geographical journal, I (7), November, 1930, pp. 587-603). In analysing the evidence respecting the probable fate of Sir John Franklin's expedition, the author includes information received from several Eskimo and gives a few useful illustrations.

CAPITAN, L. *Les idées récentes sur le peuplement de l'Amérique* (Proceedings of the twenty-third International Congress of Americanists, New York, 1928. New York: 1930, pp. 45-46). Accepting the view that certain finds in North America are of pre-glacial age, the author calls on American archaeologists to investigate ancient deposits in the expectation of building up a prehistoric chronology comparable to that of the Old World.

CLEMENTS, FORREST. *Plains Indian tribal correlations with Sun Dance data* (American anthropologist, XXXIII (2), April-June, 1931, pp. 216-227). A complicated statistical analysis of the distribution of Sun Dance traits indicates that the ceremony probably originated among the Arapaho or the Cheyenne when living northeast of their present habitat. The method employed makes it possible to demonstrate cultural relations mathematically, and to express the degree of such relationships.

COLLINS, HENRY B., Jr. *Ancient culture of St. Lawrence Island, Alaska* (Explorations and field-work of the Smithsonian Institution in 1930, Washington, Smithsonian Institution, (publication 3111), 1931, pp. 135-144). Excavations in the northeastern part of St. Lawrence Island, Bering Strait, disclosed a series of Eskimo settlements, with chronology indicated both by stratigraphy and by changing style of artifacts. This seems to be the oldest Eskimo site yet discovered; consequently, its investigation throws considerable light on their cultural development.

COOPER, JOHN M. *Field notes on northern Algonkian magic* (Proceedings of the twenty-third International Congress of Americanists, New York, 1928. New York: 1930, pp. 513-518). Magical rites are still important among the Algonkian-speaking peoples of northern Quebec and Ontario; this article describes practices associated with hunting, with infancy, with the weather, and also the mechanism of conjuring.

— *Who is the American Indian* (The scientific monthly, XXXII, May, 1931, pp. 461-463). This is a brief, popular, well-balanced summary of Indian origins, mentality, languages, and cultural differentiation.

DARBY, G. E. *The Mongolian spot—B.C. Coast Indians* (Museum and art notes, V (4), December, 1930, pp. 131-132). The Mongol spot, an area of discolouration in the lower sacral region of infants—which occurs most frequently among the Mongolian peoples of the world—was found to be present in 49% of Bella Bella Indian children under five years of age.

DENIG, EDWIN THOMPSON. *Indian tribes of the upper Missouri*, edited with notes and biographical sketch by J. N. B. HEWITT (Forty-sixth annual report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1928-1929, Washington, 1930, pp. 375-628). About the year 1854, E. T. Denig, a fur trader who had lived in the Upper Missouri valley for over twenty years, submitted to the governor of Washington Territory a manuscript comprising 451 foolscap pages on the Assiniboin (Stoney). It was prepared in response to a request for information on the Indian tribes and now, after seventy-five years, has been printed with notes. The author, a man of some education, was thoroughly familiar with the manners of the Assiniboin, to which tribe his wife belonged, and had considerable knowledge of their neighbours. The paper contains a wealth of information on hunting, war, political organization, and other phases of life which have long since passed away. Historically as well as ethnologically it throws considerable light on conditions on the Plains at that period.

DENSMORE, FRANCES. *Music of the American Indians at public gatherings* (Musical quarterly, XVII (4), October, 1931, pp. 464-497). Singing, music, and drama were all essential parts of public gatherings among the Indians, though never used merely for amusement. Their religious significance was important; for example, songs were often thought of as gifts from kindly supernatural beings.

*Music of the Winnebago, Chippewa, and Pueblo Indians* (Explorations and field-work of the Smithsonian Institution in 1930, Washington, Smithsonian Institution, (publication 3111), 1931, pp. 217-224). In the course of investigations among the Chippewa, Miss Densmore witnessed several of the almost forgotten dances, and attended a shamanistic performance in which a conjuring tent was violently shaken. She describes the probable mechanism of this performance.

*Peculiarities in the singing of the American Indians* (American anthropologist, XXXII (4), October-December, 1930, pp. 651-660). Long experience of Indian music has enabled the writer to formulate several general principles. In singing, the Indians have certain universal characteristics not found among Europeans. Other differences depend upon idiosyncrasies of the individual performer, or upon the type of song: regional peculiarities are also recognizable, frequently dependent upon the size and type of place where the performance is held.

*Dominion of Canada: Annual report of the department of Indian affairs for the year ended March 31, 1930*. Ottawa: 1931. Pp. 94. In addition to the usual statistical data on Indian population, health, wealth, education, economics, etc., this year's report includes an interesting account of an expedition in north-west Ontario by two of the department's commissioners.

DUMBRAVA, CONSTANTIN. *Une année au milieu des Esquimaux* (Géographie, LI (1-2), janvier-février, 1929, pp. 14-23). A year's sojourn at Angmassalik, east Greenland, conducting meteorological and geographical investigations, enabled the writer to make the observations on the Eskimo which are here briefly recorded.

EBBUTT, FRANK. *The canoe in western Canada* (Canadian geographical journal, III (4), October, 1931, pp. 287-292). This popular article contains illustrations of the types of Indian canoes used in British Columbia and western Alberta.

*The Gravel River Indians* (Canadian geographical journal, II (4), April, 1931, pp. 310-321). The Gravel River Indians are a small Athabascan band living north of the Liard River, principally in the Yukon. Relatively isolated, they still use pack-dogs, skin-canoes, and aboriginal handicrafts which elsewhere have disappeared.

FINNIE, O. S. *Reindeer for the Canadian Eskimo* (Natural history, XXXI (4), July-August, 1931, pp. 409-416). A discussion of an aspect of Canada's northern territory.

FOWKE, GERARD. *Americans before Columbus* (Ohio archaeological and historical quarterly, XXXIX (4), October, 1930, pp. 689-711). It may be regarded as certain that the American Indian is of Asiatic origin, but it is clear that he has been long resident in North America. Small bodies of immigrants may have drifted to the Pacific coast in recent times, but they have left few traces on aboriginal physique or culture.

FREMONT, DONATIEN. *Les Métis tels qu'ils ne sont pas* (Canada français, XIX (1), septembre, 1931, pp. 46-56). An article on the Métis refuting the impression of them created by M. Constantin-Weyer.

GODSELL, PHILIP H. *The Ojibwa Indian* (Canadian geographical journal, IV (1), January, 1932, pp. 50-66). Illustrated with excellent photographs, this is a popular, general account of the Ojibwa of northern Ontario, with a few items of scientific value.

GRANT, J. C. BOILEAU. *Anthropometry of the Chipewyan and Cree Indians of the neighbourhood of Lake Athabasca*. (National Museum of Canada; bulletin no. 64, anthropological series, no. 14.) Ottawa: 1930. Pp. iv, 59, 5 plates. This report contains measurements of 213 Chipewyan and Cree Indians in northern Alberta, Saskatchewan, and the North-west Territories. In addition to anthropometric data, observable features and blood groupings are included; the results have been analysed and tabulated statistically, making a valuable contribution to the physical anthropology of Canada.

GUINARD, JOSEPH E. *Witiko among the Tête-de-Boule* (Primitive man, III (3 and 4), July and October, 1930, pp. 69-71). The Tête-de-Boule of the upper St. Maurice River, Quebec, believe in the existence of superhuman black, naked monsters, termed *witiko* or *kokotshé*.

GUTHE, CARL E. (ed.). *Archaeological field work in North America during 1930* (American anthropologist, XXXIII (3), July-September, 1931, pp. 459-486). The list of archaeological field work compiled by the National Research Council includes mention of excavations in Nova Scotia and on the shore of Lake Superior.

HALLOWELL, A. IRVING. *The physical characteristics of the Indians of Labrador* (Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, XXI, fasc. 2, 1929, pp. 337-371). In view of the lack of anthropometric measurements from the Montagnais-Naskapi of Labrador, this paper is of prime importance. The results of thirteen instrumental and nine observational records are tabulated, the number of males ranging from 41 to 74, and of females from 12 to 58. These figures, when compared with similar measurements of Eskimo and Indian, indicate (1) that there has been little Eskimo-Indian intermixture in Labrador, (2) that the Indians north of the St. Lawrence differ from those south of the river, and (3) that European-Indian miscegenation has been unimportant.

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*Was cross-cousin marriage practised by the north-central Algonkian* (Proceedings of the twenty-third International Congress of Americanists, New York, 1928. New York: 1930, pp. 519-544)? An extensive study of Ojibway, Ottawa, and Algonquin kinship terminology, including seventeenth-century manuscript material, has led the author to conclude that cross-cousin marriage was formerly practised by these tribes, and probably abandoned as a result of missionary disapproval.

HERZOG, GEORGE. *Musical styles in North America* (Proceedings of the twenty-third International Congress of Americanists, New York, 1928. New York: 1930, pp. 455-458). Although the study of Indian music is still in its infancy, it is clear that two distinct styles occur in the Americas, one of which, presumably the more ancient, has a wide distribution extending to Arctic Siberia as well.

HEWITT, J. N. B. *Field researches among the Six Nations of the Iroquois* (Explorations and field-work of the Smithsonian Institution in 1930, Washington, Smithsonian Institution, (publication 3111), 1931, pp. 201-206). Although the League of the Iroquois has ceased to play a dominant part in the lives of members of the affiliated tribes, a few valuable details of its mechanism can still be gleaned on the Grand River Reserve, near Brantford, Ontario.

HILL-TOUT, CHARLES. *Prehistoric burial mounds of British Columbia* (Museum and art notes, V (4), December, 1930, pp. 120-126). In the Fraser Delta and in the southern part of Vancouver Island, there occur a number of burial mounds or cairns of considerable antiquity. These sepulchres are so unlike those raised by modern Indians that they may represent the elaborate interments by earlier tribes of different culture.

HOFFMAN, FREDERICK L. *Are the Indians dying out* (American Journal of Public Health, XX, June, 1930, pp. 609-614)?

*Cancer among North American Indians: The health problem of the North American Indian: The Indian as a life insurance risk.* New York: Prudential Life Insurance Co., 1928. Pp. 85.

*Hope of dating ancient Eskimos* (El palacio, XXIX (22-23), December 13, 1930, pp. 364-365). An attempt is being made to use the "tree-ring" method to date ancient timbers from Eskimo houses.

HRDLICKA, FLES. *Anthropological survey in Alaska* (Forty-sixth annual report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1928-1929, Washington, 1930, pp. 19-374). The first part of the monograph consists of interesting, and amusing, extracts from the author's diary written on a trip down the Yukon and through Bering Strait, with a wealth of comments on present conditions among the natives. Then follow historical and ethnological accounts of the Yukon Indians, and a general description of the archaeology of Alaska. The core of the report, however, comprises detailed somatological studies on the western Eskimo, indicating that variations from the norm in this area are not due to recent Indian admixture. Eskimo and Indians are genetically related; the former represent a later movement of a homogeneous group from north-eastern Siberia, a group which has taken on distinctive characteristics in America.

*Anthropological work on the Kuskokwim River, Alaska* (Explorations and field-work of the Smithsonian Institution in 1930, Washington, Smithsonian Institution, (publication 3111), 1931, pp. 123-134). On the lower Kuskokwim River, Alaska, there is a fairly large, homogeneous, and relatively pure Eskimo population whose physical characteristics show them to be identical with the types represented by abundant osteological material from pre-Russian graves. The special characteristics of these western Eskimo seem not to have arisen from Indian admixture.

*Migrations from Asia to America and their traces* (Proceedings of the twenty-third International Congress of Americanists, New York, 1928. New York: 1930, page 44). Since 1926 the Smithsonian Institution has been conducting researches around Bering Strait to study the modern inhabitants and to find traces of prehistoric migrations. The evidence indicates that extensions of population from Asia have taken place, and have been continued until recent times.

JENNESS, DIAMOND. *Indian prehistory as revealed by archaeology* (University of Toronto quarterly, I (2), January, 1932, pp. 164-182). Excavations in various parts of Canada have thrown light on regional developments which occurred, in some cases, several hundred years before the coming of the white man. The absence of superimposed sites or of pronounced cultural sequences, however, makes archaeological work difficult; only in the Arctic, where conditions have favoured both the discovery of ancient settlements and the preservation of their contents, has it been possible to trace movements of the native population for any considerable period.

*The Indian's interpretation of man and nature* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, section 2, series 3, XXIV, May, 1930, pp. 57-62). In many parts of eastern Canada both the actions and the outlook upon life of the Indians are swayed by religious beliefs; especially important are the concepts of their own souls, and their interpretations of the powers animating living creatures and natural phenomena.

*The Sekani Indians of British Columbia* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, section 2, series 3, XXV, May, 1931, pp. 21-35). Within two centuries the Sekani, living west of the Rockies in northern British Columbia, have almost certainly branched away from the Beaver to become a tribe with distinctive characteristics. They therefore illustrate the processes of tribal growth and of cultural assimilation.

JENNESS, DIAMOND. *Who are the Eskimos* (Beaver, September, 1931, pp. 267-270)? An outline of the complex history of the Eskimo.

JOCHELSON, WALDEMAR. *Wild rice* (Canadian geographical journal, II (6), June, 1931, pp. 477-482). Both in the region of the Great Lakes and further west, Indians formerly used wild rice extensively for food; this article describes its gathering and preparation.

KOCHELSON, WALDEMAR. *The ancient and present Kamchadal and the similarity of their culture to that of the northwestern American Indians* (Proceedings of the twenty-third International Congress of Americanists, New York, 1928. New York: 1930, pp. 451-454). Due to Russian contact and oppression for over two hundred years, the culture of the inhabitants of the Kamchatka Peninsula has sadly degenerated; even to-day, however, it shows greater resemblances to the north-west coast of America than to the Asiatic mainland.

J[OYCE], T. A. *Specimens from the Kotzebue collection* (British Museum quarterly, IV (4), March, 1930, pp. 116-117). The British Museum has recently obtained a number of specimens brought back from British Columbia by Kotzebue over one hundred years ago. Among these is an example of wooden slat armour with totemic decoration.

KERR, R. *A totem-pole from the Nass River, British Columbia* (Man, XXXI, February, 1931, pp. 20-21). This is a brief description of a totem-pole recently acquired by the Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh, together with the significance of the mythological figures depicted.

KIDDER, ALFRED VINCENT, with the aid of BRITTON, Mrs. MARION HALE, and CHADWICK, Mrs. IDA S. *General index: American anthropologist, current anthropological literature, and memoirs of the American Anthropological Association 1888-1928, compiled under the auspices of the division of anthropology and psychology, National Research Council, and Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts*. (American anthropologist, XXXII (3), part 2.) Menasha, Wis.: 1930. Pp. 193. This work consists of five indices, namely, of (1) authors of original articles, of (2) authors of reviews, of (3) authors of works reviewed, of (4) subject index, and of (5) obituaries.

KOPPERT, VINCENT A. *The Nootka family* (Primitive man, III (3 and 4), July and October, 1930, pp. 49-55). Among the Nootka, living on the west side of Vancouver Island, betrothal rites are of long duration, and marriage is marked by the payment of "bride-price". Family life is characterized by strong parental affection although divorce is by no means uncommon.

KRICKEBERG, WALTER. *Das Kunstgewerbe der Eskimo und nordamerikanischen Indianer* (BOSSELT, H. TH. *Geschichte des Kunstgewerbes aller Zeiten und Völker*, Berlin, 1929, bd. II, pp. 154-244).

KRIEGER, HERBERT W. *Aspects of aboriginal decorative art in America based on specimens in the United States National Museum* (Annual report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, 1930, (publication 3077), Washington, 1931, pp. 519-556). Throughout the primitive world, distinctive art styles are typical of various areas. In this article the characteristic motifs of such areas as in North America are described, and illustrated with excellent photographs of specimens in the United States National Museum.

LEADER, HERMAN A. *Douglas expeditions, 1840-41* (Oregon historical quarterly, XXXII (1), March, 1931, pp. 1-23; XXXII (2), June, 1931, pp. 145-164; XXXII (3), September, 1931, pp. 262-278; XXXII (4), December, 1931, pp. 350-372). The diary of James Douglas describing a voyage from the Columbia River to the Taku River, Alaska, in 1840, contains many items of information concerning the Indians encountered en route.

LESSER, A. *Some aspects of Siouan kinship* (Proceedings of the twenty-third Congress of Americanists, New York, 1928. New York: 1930, pp. 563-571). Kinship terminologies of the Siouan tribes fall into three main classes, having a certain correlation with the three types of social structure found among the Sioux.

LIGHTHALL, W. D. *The remoter origins of the Iroquoian stock* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, section 2, series 3, XXV, 1931, pp. 71-81). The view is propounded that the Iroquois came from South America, and ultimately from Melanesia.

LONGSTAFF, F. V. *British Columbia Indian cedar dugout canoes* (Mariner's mirror, XVI (3), July, 1930, pp. 259-262). This is a short article with illustrations of several types of dugout canoe from British Columbia.

LOWIE, ROBERT H. *American Indian cultures* (American mercury, XX (79), July, 1930, pp. 362-366). Brief descriptions of Indian tribal manners and customs in New Mexico, British Columbia, and the Plains illustrate the great cultural diversity existing in North America.

— *The inventiveness of the American Indian* (American mercury, XXIV (93), September, 1931, pp. 90-97). Indian culture being essentially of indigenous growth, it follows that the race has shown evidence of considerable inventive ability; this is illustrated in hunting and collecting devices as well as in elements of more advanced civilization.

MACDONALD, C. S. *Through Canada's hinterland* (Canadian geographical journal, II (1), January, 1931, pp. 3-20). An extensive canoe trip in northern Saskatchewan and Alberta brought the author into contact with many Cree and Chipewyan; this article contains some excellent photographs and a few items of information.

MACLEOD, WILLIAM CHRISTIE. *The distribution and process of suttee in North America* (American anthropologist, XXXIII (2), April-June, 1931, pp. 209-215). The author believes that the immolation, voluntary or otherwise, of widows in North America developed from the widespread practice of regarding them as the property of the dead husband's kinsmen. He shows the distribution, extending both into Ontario and into British Columbia, of several associated customs.

— *Hook-swinging in the Old World and in America: A problem in cultural integration and disintegration* (Anthropos, XXVI (3-4), Mai-August, 1931, pp. 551-561). In India and among the Plains tribes of North America, devotees were accustomed to perforate the flesh and swing themselves by ropes passed through the wounds. Skewering, as found in British Columbia, Korea, and elsewhere is probably connected with the practice, which seems to be an ancient rite occurring on both sides of the Pacific.

MASON, J. ALDEN. *Excavations of Eskimo Thule culture sites at Point Barrow, Alaska* (Proceedings of the twenty-third International Congress of Americanists, New York, 1928. New York: 1930, pp. 383-394). During archaeological investigations near Barrow, Alaska, in 1918, several reputedly natural mounds were opened, disclosing a relatively large number of Eskimo skeletons and artifacts. The latter appear to belong to the Thule culture. The osteological data indicate that the inhabitants were closely akin to the modern Eskimo of southern Greenland.

MATHIASSEN, THERKEL. *Foreløbig beretning om femte Thule-Expedition fra Grønland til Stillehavet. VI. Knud Rasmussens arkæologiske samling fra Vesteskimoerne* (Geografisk tidsskrift, XXXI, 1928, pp. 199-210).

— *Material culture of the Iglulik Eskimos.* (Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition 1921-24, VI (1)). Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, Nordisk Forlag. 1928. Pp. 249. To be reviewed later.

— *Notes on Knud Rasmussen's archaeological collections from the western Eskimo* (Proceedings of the twenty-third International Congress of Americanists, New York, 1928. New York: 1930, pp. 395-399). In 1924 Rasmussen excavated and collected over 3,000 archaeological specimens from the Mackenzie Delta, Alaska, and East Cape, Siberia. Even this short account, in which only selected examples are described and illustrated, shows what light further scientific research in this area could throw on Eskimo cultural development.

MATHIASSEN, THERKEL. *The question of the origin of Eskimo culture* (American anthropologist, XXXII (4), October-December, 1930, pp. 591-607). This is a well annotated and critical analysis of the origins of Eskimo culture, particularly in the central Arctic. The presence among the inland Caribou Eskimo of so many elements which appear to have developed from those of the Thule people, and the absence of archaeological evidence of earlier occupancy, lead the author to conclude that the Thule culture, which originated in the west, is the oldest stratum of Eskimo life on the west side of Hudson Bay. This controverts the opinion of Birket-Smith.

— *Spørgsmaalet om Eskimokulturens Oprindelse* (Geografisk tidskrift, XXXII (2-3), June-September, 1929, pp. 116-126). Unlike Birket-Smith, Mathiassen holds that the culture of the Caribou Eskimo, who live inland on the west side of Hudson Bay, is degenerate rather than primitive, and that the origin of Eskimo culture must be sought in the west, with genetic relationships to Asia.

MERRILL, E. D. *The phytogeography of cultivated plants in relation to assumed pre-Columbian Eurasian-American contacts* (American anthropologist, XXXIII (3), July-September, 1931, pp. 375-382). Horticulture has undoubtedly been practised in both the Old and New Worlds for a long period but, though in each case the list of cultivated species is extensive, no varieties were common to both hemispheres at the time of European exploration. American horticulture is, therefore, of indigenous origin, as are, probably, the majority of other cultural traits.

MIDLO, CHARLES and CUMMINS, HAROLD. *Dermatoglyphics in Eskimos* (American journal of physical anthropology, XVI (1), July-September, 1931, pp. 41-49). Dermatoglyphic prints of sixty-four Eskimo from St. Lawrence Island are analysed, especially with respect to contrasts with Europeans.

MOOREHEAD, WARREN KING. *Prehistoric cultural areas east of the Rocky Mountains* (Proceedings of the twenty-third International Congress of Americanists, New York, 1928. New York: 1930, pp. 47-51). This article comprises a useful summary of the typical archaeological material found in different areas of eastern Canada and the United States.

MUNTSCH, ALBERT. *The relations between religion and morality among the Plains Indians* (Primitive man, IV (1 and 2), January and April, 1931, pp. 22-29). Religion among the Indians of the Plains is characterized by elaborate ceremonialism, frequently directed towards a high god. Such beliefs play a dominant part in shaping tribal morality.

NEWCOMBE, W. A. *British Columbia totem poles* (Province of British Columbia: Report of the Provincial Museum of Natural History for the year 1930. Victoria: 1931, pp. 8-10). The term "totem pole" has been applied to four classes of carved wooden posts, each serving a different purpose. Photographs are given illustrating these four types, including a number of early views showing poles in their original settings.

DETTEKING, BRUNO. *A contribution to the physical anthropology of Baffin Island, based on somatometrical data and skeletal material collected by the Putnam Baffin Island expedition of 1927* (American journal of physical anthropology, XV (3), April-June, 1931, pp. 421-468). Anthropometric measurements of twenty-three Eskimo of Baffin Island show the usual characteristics of the race, and a specific relationship with the eastern branch.

— *Some points in the morphologic evaluation of the American Indian* (Proceedings of the twenty-third International Congress of Americanists, New York, 1928. New York: 1930, pp. 853-855). Although the Indian exhibits certain primitive morphological traits, none the less he represents a recent, and somewhat refined, development of the Mongoloid branch of mankind.

PACIFIQUE, Père. *Le pays des Micmacs* (Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Québec, XXV (1), janvier-juin, 1931, pp. 96-106). This is a series of Micmac place-names with their locations, and English meanings.

PALMER, ROSE A. *The North American Indians*. (Smithsonian scientific series, IV.) New York: Smithsonian Institution Series, Inc. 1929. Pp. xvi, 309; 85 plates. To be reviewed later.

PALMER, VIOLET. *Customs of the mountain goat kin; an Indian myth* (Museum and art notes, VI (2), June, 1931, pp. 47-50). A Lillooet, southern British Columbia, legend describes the adventures of a hunter among the mountain goats, and explains why this animal became the totem of his descendants.

Indian legends: *Te Quitchitail, the Serpent Slayer* (Museum and art notes, VI (3), September, 1931, pp. 91-94). This is a Squamish, southern British Columbian legend describing the killing of a mythical, double-headed, snake-like monster.

PENCK, ALBRECHT. *Wann kamen die Indianer nach Nordamerika* (Proceedings of the twenty-third International Congress of Americanists, New York, 1928. New York: 1930, pp. 23-30)? Although conclusive proof is lacking, there are certain indications that man first entered America by way of Bering Strait prior to the close of the Ice Age.

PETERSON, MARTIN SEVERIN. *Some Scandinavian elements in a Micmac swan maiden story* (Scandinavian studies and notes, XI (4), November, 1930, pp. 135-138). Among folk-tales of the Micmac of Nova Scotia there are several versions of the swan maiden tale, suggestive of Scandinavian influence.

RASMUSSEN, KNUD. *Intellectual culture of the Iglulik Eskimos*. (Report of the fifth Thule expedition 1921-24, V (1).) Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, Nordisk Forlag. 1929. Pp. 308. To be reviewed later.

SAINDON, ÉMILE. *En missionnant: Essai sur les missions des Pères Oblats de Marie Immaculée à la Baie James*. Ottawa: 1928. Pp. 81. Though not written as a contribution to science, this work contains much valuable information on the life, and especially the modern problems, of the James Bay Cree.

SERGI, GIUSEPPE. *Ricerche e risultati intorno agli indigeni Americani* (Proceedings of the twenty-third International Congress of Americanists, New York, 1928. New York: 1930, pp. 857-865). Somatological comparisons lead the author to conclude that at least certain groups of the American Indians are descended from *homo rhodesiensis*.

SHAPIRO, H. L. *The Alaskan Eskimo* (Anthropological papers of the American Museum of Natural History, XXXI (6), 1931, pp. 347-384). Exhaustive anthropometric analysis, including that of measurements recently taken in the Seward Peninsula, Alaska, show the general homogeneity of the Eskimo and, more specifically, extremely close resemblances between the inhabitants of Smith Sound, Coronation Gulf, and the Seward Peninsula. This uniform type, moreover, closely resembles the Chipewyan Indians of Lake Athabasca, supporting the thesis that these Eskimo bands moved to the coast from the interior.

SHETRONE, HENRY CLYDE. *The Mound-Builders*. New York and London: D. Appleton and Co. 1930. Pp. xx, 508. To be reviewed later.

SHOTRIDGE, LOUIS. *How Ats-Ha followed the hide of his comrade to Yek-Land* (Museum journal, XXI (3-4), September-December, 1930, pp. 215-226). The University of Pennsylvania Museum is the owner of an old and finely ornamented Tlingit shaman's head-dress, of which the decorations refer to a mythical adventure in which a certain Ats-Ha travelled to the land of spirits in pursuit of evil beings who had stripped the skin from the body of a fellow-practitioner.

SPECK, FRANK G. *Birch-bark in the ancestry of pottery forms* (Anthropos, XXVI (3-4), Mai-August, 1931, pp. 407-411). In 1886 Cushing expressed the opinion that Iroquois square-topped pots were derived from birch-bark forms, and illustrated similar types in each material. Although this thesis has been widely accepted, actual investigation shows that the Iroquois did not make baskets of this shape; in fact, it is not one for which birch-bark is adapted.

SPECK, FRANK G. *Mistassini notes* (Indian notes, VII (4), October, 1930, pp. 410-457). Information recently obtained from the Mistassini, a band living near Lake Mistassini, Labrador, confirms and supplements data recorded by Father Laure two hundred years ago. This article mentions some of the religious and social practices of this little-known people, and describes their games and handicrafts.

— *Montagnais-Naskapi bands and early Eskimo distribution in the Labrador Peninsula* (American anthropologist, XXXIII (4), October-December, 1931, pp. 557-600). This well-annotated and comprehensive account of the Indians of Labrador contains an analysis of their cultural resemblances to the Eskimo, as well as a useful compendium of the present distribution of the many little-known bands.

SPINDEN, H. J. *The population of ancient America* (Annual report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, for the year 1929, Washington, 1930, pp. 451-471). This is a reprint of an article, already reviewed, from the *Geographical review*, XVIII (4), 1928.

STEWART, T. D. *Incidence of separate neural arch in the lumbar vertebrae of Eskimos* (American journal of physical anthropology, XVI (1), July-September, 1931, pp. 51-62). Examination of 350 Eskimo skeletons, principally from Alaska, shows that 27.4% have one or more separate neural arches of the lumbar vertebrae, a proportion higher than found among other races.

STIRLING, M. W. *Some popular misconceptions about the American Indian* (Scientific monthly, XXXII, February, 1931, pp. 172-175). This is the text of a radio address delivered under the auspices of Science Service. Avoiding technicalities, the author deals with Indian-European contacts, with the origin of the Indian, and with the diversity and wealth of aboriginal American culture.

TEIT, JAMES A. *Traditions and information regarding the Tona'xa* (American anthropologist, XXXII (4), October-December, 1930, pp. 625-632). The Tona'xa, a tribe probably in close and friendly contact with both the Kutenai and interior Salish, formerly occupied an extensive region on the east slopes of the Rockies in southern Alberta and northern Montana. They are now extinct. The only available data concerning them consists of a short vocabulary and a few facts remembered by members of adjacent tribes who are of mixed Tona'xa ancestry.

TEIT, JAMES A., edited by BOAS, FRANZ. *The Salishan tribes of the western plateaus* (Forty-fifth annual report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1927-1928. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1930, pp. 23-396). This report embodies the results of Teit's investigations in 1904-09, among the Coeur d'Alene, Okanagon, and Flathead of Idaho, Washington, and British Columbia. His chief purpose was to delimit the former habitat of these and other plateau tribes, and his success may be judged by the detailed geographical information recorded, together with traditions of migrations and of former contacts. Material culture is dealt with at some length, social and religious life more briefly. The Okanagon, the most northern of the three tribes, comprise four closely allied bands living entirely within British Columbia; their culture closely resembles that of the Thompson River Indians.

— *Tattooing and face and body painting of the Thompson Indians British Columbia* (Forty-fifth annual report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1927-1928. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1930, pp. 397-439). Prior to about 1860 when contact with Europeans led to the decline of ancient customs, the Thompson River Indians of southern British Columbia practised extensively both tattooing and painting of the body. Tattooing, as used by almost all members of both sexes, was primarily for ceremonial purposes, ornamental reasons being only secondary. The highly conventionalized designs referred to incidents in dreams, served as permanent pledges of conjugal fidelity, or were connected with religious experiences. Painting was still more common, being regarded as essential to all ritual acts. A large number of designs are illustrated, together with interpretations of the symbolism involved. The investigations were carried out thirty years ago among elderly men and women.

TEIT, JAMES A., edited by STEEDMAN, ELSIE VIAULT. *Ethnobotany of the Thompson Indians of British Columbia* (Forty-fifth annual report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1927-1928. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1930, pp. 441-522). Dependent entirely upon wild life for sustenance, the Thompson River Indians of south-western British Columbia had a wide knowledge of native plants, of which they utilized over 250 species. The largest proportion of these served as medicines, but over one hundred were used for food, and others in manufacturing, as scents, for purification, as charms, etc. The varieties are listed with native and botanical names, and classified according to their native use.

THALBITZER, WILLIAM. *Eskimo as a linguistic type* (Proceedings of the twenty-third International Congress of Americanists, New York, 1928. New York: 1930, pp. 895-904). Although there are a few points of resemblance between Eskimo and other languages, the cumulative evidence of its syntax, morphology, and phonetics leads to the conclusion that it has no genetic relations.

*Légendes et chants esquimaux du Groenland*: translated from the Danish by Madame HOLLATZ-BRETAGNE. Paris: 1929. Pp. 188. This little volume gives an admirable, and extremely interesting, introduction to the Eskimo of Greenland and their folk-lore. Dealing separately with the eastern and western parts of the island, each section is prefaced with a brief account of the ethnology of the people and the history of the region. Then follows a well chosen selection of songs and simple myths, each having a short description of the custom or belief of which it is the theme. The author has succeeded in being both informative and readable at the same time.

*Les magiciens esquimaux, leurs conceptions du monde, de l'âme et de la vie* (Journal de la Société des Américanistes, XXII (1), 1930, pp. 73-106). Though referring primarily to East Greenland, this account of Eskimo spiritual beliefs serves as a useful summary of ideas held from Greenland to Bering Strait. After describing the rôle of the shaman, the author passes to cosmological concepts, and then to the soul, including spirit, intelligence, mind, life, and other obscure abstractions.

THOMPSON, STITH (ed.). *Tales of the North American Indians*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press. 1929. Pp. xxiii, 386. To be reviewed later.

WARDLE, H. NEWELL. *Indian gifts in relation to primitive law* (Proceedings of the twenty-third International Congress of Americanists, New York, 1928. New York: 1930, pp. 463-469). The thesis that the bestowing of presents among Indian tribes constituted an integral part of their civil law is illustrated by the social and economic interactions of ceremonial givings among the Omaha of Nebraska and the Kwakiutl of British Columbia.

WEYER, EDWARD MOFFAT, jr. *Archaeological material from the village site at Hot Springs, Port Moller, Alaska* (Anthropological papers of the American Museum of Natural History, XXXI (4), 1930, pp. 239-279). A month's careful excavation near Port Moller, Alaska, resulted in the discovery of about 1,100 archaeological specimens, of which over three hundred have interpretive value. These are described, and many illustrated, making a useful contribution to the archaeology of the Eskimo.

WINTERBERG, W. J. *Distinguishing characteristics of Algonkian and Iroquoian cultures* (Annual report for 1929, Bulletin 67, National Museum of Canada. Ottawa: 1931, pp. 65-125). As is generally known, peoples of Algonkian culture, and presumably belonging to bands of that stock, were prior inhabitants of those portions of Ontario and Quebec occupied, at the time of European contact, by Iroquoian tribes. This has led to confusion in archaeological material unscientifically collected from those areas. There are recognizable differences between most Algonkian and Iroquoian artifacts, but the differences are often obscure and the observations upon which they are based are recorded in widely scattered articles. This is a comprehensive and masterly analysis of the subject, based upon the experience and study of a lifetime.

